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J. Dowling junr.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
REMARKABLE EVENTS
IN THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

EXHIBITING THE VERY
EXTRAORDINARY TRANSACTIONS

O F

Adams 246-4

WENTWORTH Earl of Strafford; CHARLES the First; OLIVER CROMWELL the Great; CHARLES the Second; JAMES the Second; BUTLER Earl of Ormond; King WILLIAM the Glorious Deliverer; and GEORGE WALKER, the Military Clergyman, and Governor of London Derry, who victoriously defended that City for 105 Days against a very large Army, and finally forced them to raise the Siege.

BY THOMAS LELAND, D. D.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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T H E

H I S T O R Y

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I R E L A N D

F R O M T H E

I N V A S I O N o f H E N R Y I I.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

Effects of the royal GRACES—Temper of the recusants—Their clergy.—Their practices.—Proclamation against their hierarchy.—Removal of lord Faulkland.—Loftus, and the Earl of Cork lords justices.—Controuled in their attempts for suppression of popery.—Insolence of the Romish party.—Lord Wentworth appointed chief governour.—His address in procuring a voluntary subsidy from the Irish.—His arrival in Ireland.—His dispositions—and principles.—He disgusts the Irish privy-council.—He gains a continuance of the voluntary subsidy.—A parliament desired.—Wentworth undertakes to manage it.—His object, and measures.—Debates in council on the bill of subsidy.—Compliance of the commons—Temper of the lords.—Incident in the house of peers—Earl of Ormond, a favourite—Earl of Kildare disgraced—Lords

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dissatisfied—They order the transmission of bills—Protest of lord Wentworth.—He refuses to confirm the graces. Subsequent acts of his parliament.—Convocation.—Circumstances of the clergy.—They are supported by Wentworth.—His care of the university.—English articles, and canons established.—High commission court erected.—Wentworth's schemes for improving the revenue.—Introduction of a linen manufacture.—Project of a western plantation revived.—Progress of the inquisitions in the western province.—Clamour against the proceedings.—Wentworth's administration odious.—His insolence and rigour.—Sir Pierce Crosby.—Lord Mountnorris.—His prosecution and sentence.—Wentworth repairs to England.—His administration approved by the king.—He returns to Ireland.—Is still odious and arbitrary.—His contest with lord chancellor Loftus.----Merits of his administration.

IT were natural to expect, that Ireland, situated as it now appears, relieved from the calamities of intestine war, with a more general, and apparently more sincere submission to the crown of England, than former ages had experienced, should proceed in quiet, through the course of civility and refinement, without affording any incidents considerable enough to be recorded. But that happy period had not yet arrived, when the turbulence and commotion, which supply materials for the historian, should be exchanged for a peaceable and prosperous obscurity. From the present period, we shall find the affairs of this country more interesting and important, more nearly connected with those of England, and therefore the worthier, and more necessary to be distinctly considered.

THE

THE instructions transmitted by Charles to his lord deputy, which declared the rights, and promised to redress the grievances of his Irish subjects, were, for the present, received with satisfaction. The king stood engaged, that his graces should be confirmed by a law of parliament; and the insincerity of his professions was not yet completely discovered. The ^b people therefore cheerfully submitted to the contribution, by which these graces had been purchased. Every party concurred in this extraordinary supply: but the whole merit was assumed by the recusants, who indeed formed the majority of the nation. They professed the most zealous loyalty; but secretly exulted in the persuasion, that the army, and of consequence the authority of the crown in Ireland, could not be maintained without their assistance.

LORD Faulkland seems to have been more distinguished by his rectitude than abilities. In a government which required vigour and austerity, he was indolent and gentle; courting, rather than terrifying the factious. He was harrassed by the intrigues and clamours of the king's ministers, whom he could not always gratify to the full extent of their desires; his actions were severely interpreted and maligned at the court of England; his administration of consequence was cautious and embarrassed. Such a governour was little qualified to awe the numerous and powerful body of recusants, relying on their merits, and stimulated by their ecclesiastics to the most imprudent excesses. Their religious worship was once more celebrated with public solemnity, and with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual. Churches were seized for their service; their ecclesiastical

clerical jurisdiction was avowedly and severely executed; new friaries and nunneries were erected; and, even in the City of Dublin, under the immediate notice of the state, an academical body was formed, and governed by an ecclesiastic of some note, for the education of popish youth. The clergy, by whose influence these violent proceedings were directed, were, by their numbers, and by their principles, justly alarming to government. They swarmed into the kingdom from foreign seminaries; where they had imbibed the most inveterate prejudices against England, and the most abject and pestilent opinions of the papal authority. Seculars and regulars alike had bound themselves by solemn oath to defend the papacy against the whole world; to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges; to execute its mandates, and to persecute heretics. Their whole body acted in dangerous concert, under the direction of the pope, and subject to the orders of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, lately erected at Rome; and many of them, by their education in the seminaries of Spain, were peculiarly devoted to the interests of that monarchy; habituated to regard the insurrections of the old Irish, in the reign of Elizabeth, as the most generous exertions of patriotism, and taught to detest that power, which had quelled this spirit, and established a dominion on the ruins of the antient dignity and pre-eminence of their countrymen.

THE protestant party were no less zealous in their detestation of popish idolatry. The inferiours of their clergy were poor, and sometimes so scandalously profligate, as to occasion a sarcastical observation of an Irishman to be recorded, that *the king's priests were as bad as those of the pope*. But there were
not

not wanting, many, to whom the purity of the faith was an object of especial moment ; and who, with the support of some grave and respectable prelates, as well as some of the officers of state, of English birth, and puritanic education, remonstrated warmly to Faulkland, on the turbulence of the recusants, and the dangerous tendency of their present practices. The temper of this deputy disposed him, and his instructions from England directed him to moderation and indulgence, in the affair of religious controversy. But the repeated instances of his council could not be neglected. He issued a proclamation importing, that “ the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, Jesuits, friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty’s royal power and authority had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his majesty’s name, to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies.”

THE proclamation was published and received without the common respect due to an act of state ; nor did the deputy think himself warranted to proceed to any further severity. The popish worship was still maintained ; nor was the new college, erected by the recusants in Dublin, suppressed by government : for the chief governour attended minutely to his instructions from London ; and these were not unfavourable to that party, which possessed the greatest share of power in Ireland. But the least restraint or discouragement was sufficient to awaken the resentment of the recusants. They now began, in the melancholy tone of discontent, to lament the weight

weight and grievance of the public burdens. They inveighed against those agents, whom they had lately sent into England, and complained that, without due commission or authority, they had consented to a tax, too grievous to be supported. They, who were still harrassed by vexatious inquisitions into the titles of their estates, they, who from any motives were flattered with the hopes of being relieved from public burdens, easily united in this clamour, which soon became so violent and alarming, that the government condescended to a sort of compromise, and accepted a quarterly payment of five thousand, instead of ten thousand pounds, until the whole voluntary subsidy should be discharged. The impatience of Charles and his ministers at this murmuring of the Irish subjects, and this manifest reluctance to fulfil their engagements, made them readier to listen to any complaints against the conduct of the chief governour. Lord Faulkland was recalled, and the administration entrusted for the present to two lords justices, united by friendship and affinity, and of considerable consequence in Ireland, Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord high-treasurer of this kingdom.

THE first of these chief governours derived his fortune and station from the activity and prudence of Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, in the reign of Elizabeth. The earl, head of the noble family of Boyle, had arrived in Ireland as a private adventurer in the same reign; and, by a fortunate marriage, by industry and judicious conduct, by purchasing from Sir Walter Raleigh his portion of the Desmond forfeitures, and by introducing English colonies into his estates, had risen gradually to the first degree of consequence

consequence. He had been knighted, created baron Boyle, viscount Dungarvan, and earl of Cork, and was now advanced to the government of Ireland; a progress in which he possibly was the speedier and more successful, as the heads of the two leading families in Ireland, Kildare and Ormond, were in the state of minority. The power of the first of these houses he afterwards contrived to connect in some sort with his own interests, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the young earl of Kildare.

THE earl of Cork was possessed with a spirit suited to his exalted rank; not with a despicable pride of family, that reposes fastidiously on its advantages, with a contemptuous disregard of all inferiours; but with a liberal and generous solicitude for the welfare of those he governed. On his own lands he had fixed a numerous, well regulated, and well defended body of English protestants; which soon rewarded him by the natural effects of such generous cares, industry, affluence, and civility. With the same principles, and by the same means, he studied to promote the general welfare of the nation in his public conduct. With particular assiduity he laboured to execute a scheme of transplanting into the remote quarters of the South those turbulent Irish sects of Wicklow, who had for ages harrassed the English government, and filling the neighbourhood of the capital with more peaceable and industrious inhabitants. The errors of popery were offensive to his religious principles; and that barbarism, which generally attended it in Ireland, was equally repugnant to his schemes of political improvement. Without consulting the ministry of England, or waiting for any instructions from the king, the lords justices fell at once with great severity on the recusants,

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sants, and threatened all absenters from the established worship with the penalties of the statute, enacted in the second year of Elizabeth's reign. They were however soon informed, that this severity was not acceptable to the king, nor deemed consistent with his present interests in Ireland: and the recusants, as usual, were immoderate in their triumph.

A FRATERNITY of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites, in one of the most frequented parts of Dublin. The archbishop of the diocese, and the chief magistrate of the city, whose indignation was roused at this defiance of law and government, led a party of the army to their place of worship, and attempted to disperse the assembly. The friars and their congregation repelled the attack by force, and obliged the assailants to consult their safety by a precipitate flight. The incident was represented in England in the most offensive manner, and seemed to reproach that mistaken lenity, which had encouraged the recusants to this outrage. It was deemed neither safe nor politic to connive at such insolence: by an order of the English council, fifteen religious houses were seized to the king's use, and the popish college erected in Dublin was assigned to the university, who for the present converted it into a protestant seminary.

BUT the suppression of popish superstition was an object much less interesting to the English cabinet, than that of providing for the immediate necessities of the king's Irish government. The time now approached, when the voluntary subsidy was to determine. There were no hopes of maintaining the authority of the crown in Ireland without a competent

petent military force, and little prospect of any further supply for the continuance of such a force. To relieve himself from the additional embarrassment, arising from the weakness, danger, and distractions of the state of Ireland, Charles now determined to commit the government of this kingdom to Thomas, lord viscount Wentworth, a statesman highly favoured and esteemed by his master; and although he could not for the present be spared to enter on his office, yet his activity and intrigue were of considerable assistance to the king^d, in the management of Irish affairs. The great point, now to be obtained, was the renewal of the voluntary contribution for some time, until the lord deputy could assume his government, and have leisure to devise some permanent provision for the army^e. The present lords justices, either from a sense of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal against popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution, from which, they declared, that all the subjects of every denomination were obstinately averse: they advised, that recusants should be strictly presented, and the weekly fines imposed, for their absence from the established worship, as a means of providing for the army. Both the king and Wentworth disapproved a scheme of supply, precarious and insufficient; both however agreed in the expediency of alarming the recusants, so as to conquer their reluctance to a new contribution. Charles now used a new language to his Irish subjects. If the subsidy were not cheerfully and thankfully continued, he threatened, that his graces, those graces which he had promised to confirm by parliament, should be *streightened*; that the recusants' fines should be universally and strictly levied, directing that the pre-

sentments necessary for this purpose should be made. He was careful at the same time to cast the odium of this measure on the lords justices, by declaring it to be the consequence of their advice. The justices were terrified; they could not venture to enter the king's letter, agreeable to his order, in the council books; lest the inspection of it should produce some dangerous clamour. For this they were severely, and even insolently^f, reprimanded by Wentworth. He affected to deride the difficulties apprehended by the justices and council, in prevailing for a continuance of the contribution; he insinuated g, that the earl of Cork practised secretly with the protestant party, to embarrass the king in his necessities; his agents were privately employed to prevail on the recusants to offer half a yearly subsidy, as the only means of suspending the execution of the penal statutes; and for this purpose to send a deputation to the king. Although they objected to repeat the error they had formerly committed, and to treat by deputies who might exceed their commission, they yet declared a readiness to contribute voluntarily to the support of the army for some time longer. After some altercation and delay, it was at length agreed, that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be added to the former contribution, to be paid by four equal quarterly assessments. Thus were the immediate necessities of the state supplied; and Lord Wentworth was soon after sent to assume the administration^h; a nobleman from whose vigour and abilities Charles expected the effectual regulation and improvement of his Irish dominions.

Few characters have been more the subject both of censure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth,

^f Straffords Lett. vol. I. p. 77. ^g Ib. p. 75, 76. ^h A. D. 1633-

worth, better known by his superior title of Strafford. His conduct, as chief governour of Ireland, forms no inconsiderable part of the history of his life; his enemies and his admirers have therefore carefully inspected it. His desertion of the popular cause in England had rendered him odious to a party, powerful, implacable, subtle, and indefatigable. The extraordinary attention and favour of the king were sufficient to encrease this odium, even if he had not proved so determined a partizan of prerogative. Some of the leaders of the party he had personally offended; and, relying on that protection, which deserted him in his extremity, he seemed to defy, and therefore confirmed their enmity. Their rancour pursued him into Ireland; watched his conduct strictly, and interpreted his actions severely. He assumed his government with a mind and affection fixed on one single object, the immediate interest of his royal master: and happily the service of the crown obliged him to study the improvement of the realm. He had heard of the turbulence and disorders of this country; and hence inferred the necessity of that severe and rigorous administration, which suited his own austerity and arrogance. Ireland he regarded as a conquered kingdom in the strictest sense. He avowed and defended the opinion, under all the terrors of impeachment, when it was charged against him as a traiterous principle; and from this crude conception he deduced a consequence, at once ridiculous and detestable; that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens; and, for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace. Such men he was naturally disposed to treat with contempt; and even the most distinguished of the Irish subjects were of little

consequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman, used to the magnificence of the English court, distinguished, even in the croud of exalted personages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favour.

AGAINST several in Ireland, of exalted station, he had already conceived some prejudice, or some resentment. The friends of lord Faulkland he regarded with suspicion; for he looked on this nobleman as his secret enemy. The puritans he abhorred; for, like their brethren in England, they were jealous of the prerogative, nor readily disposed to comply with every demand of the crown. Sir William Parsons, who, from a needy adventurer, had, by the power of assiduity and cunning, if not by means still more exceptionable, acquired an ample fortune, and ministerial station, was considered as a principal agent in obstructing the king's schemes; and to him therefore Wentworth was particularly ill disposed. The earl of Cork was powerful; and one favourite scheme of the new lord-deputy was to break the power of the great lordsⁱ; which indeed had frequently been applied to the basest purposes. Wentworth had been instructed to pay particular attention to the interest, as well as the regulation of the established clergy: the earl had possessed himself of lands, which belonged to the church; and, what the deputy had learned from Laud to regard with equal abhorrence, he had erected a family-monument in the cathedral of Saint Patrick in Dublin, so untowardly situated, that it took up the place of what the prelate of Canterbury affected to call the GREAT ALTAR. The severest menaces were already denounced against the earl's injustice, and oppressive

ⁱ Straff. Lett. vol. I.

preffive usurpation, aggravated by an act of such flagrant impiety. The clergy of the puritanic spirit were no less obnoxious; and among these were reckoned Usher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore; two men eminently distinguished by their learning and piety. Bedel, with more of simplicity than policy, had united with the inhabitants of his diocese in a petition to the late lords justices, representing the new contribution as irregularly obtained, and oppressively levied. Wentworth therefore landed, full fraught with the bitterest resentment against his presumptuous opposition to the king's service. Usher, more cautious, as yet gave no offence; but lived in a quiet enjoyment of the consequence derived from his character no less than his station. To form a balance against this popular prelate, the deputy came attended by Doctor Bramhal, whom he resolved to advance to a distinguished station in the church of Ireland; a man sufficiently endowed with abilities and erudition, but whose ideas, both of doctrine and discipline, were so consonant to those of Laud, that Oliver Cromwell afterwards called him *the Canterbury of Ireland*.

LORD Wentworth thus assumed the reins of government, with lively prepossessions, and passions violently enflamed: and, at the moment of his inauguration, disgusted those he was to manage, by an incident not worthy to be noted, but that incidents, apparently trifling, serve to discover men's tempers and dispositions. When he had visited the late lords justices^k, with an affected attention, which the proudest are the most ready to shew to their immediate inferiours; and had been formally invested with his office, he summoned a council; but, agreeably

^k Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 57.

able to the usage of that court, in which he had been trained to business, but which was utterly unknown in Ireland, he summoned only a particular number, to the utter mortification of those who were omitted. And those, who were collected, among whom were the late justices, he was so careless, or so insolent, as to offend by a wanton indignity. They assembled at the hour appointed; but the deputy, either from an affectation of state, or from a more agreeable engagement with a lady, whom he met in Dublin, and had just declared to be his wife, neglected them for some hours; and, when he at length appeared, instead of conferring on the business, for which they had been summoned, only charged the judges to represent in their circuits the favour, which the king offered to such as would repair their defective grants; and to satisfy the protestants with regard to the new imposition for maintenance of the army, as a charge necessary in itself, and intended chiefly for their defence. Thus, with an air of careless insolence, he dismissed the council, declaring that they should be again speedily convened, to deliver their opinions on the means of supplying the king's immediate necessities.

IN this next meeting they were silent and suspicious. The chancellor at length suggested¹, that the king should call an Irish parliament; in order to provide a regular and settled establishment for the army, to redress the grievances, and secure the properties of the subjects against those litigations of their titles, which still subsisted, advising, in the mean time, that the voluntary contribution should be continued for another year. The earl of Cork was more reserved: Parsons, the master of the wards, utterly

¹ Straff. Lett. vol. I. p. 99.

utterly averſe from any new contribution. The deputy was provoked. He told them, that without their help, he would undertake, at the peril of his head, to make the king's army able to ſubſiſt; that he had taken them to counſel; not from neceſſity, but to give them a fair occaſion of ſhewing their affection and duty to the king; and that the offer of another contribution might move from the proteſtant, as the former had been the act of the popiſh party. He therefore adviſed them to ſeize the opportunity of approving their loyalty; to ſign an offer of the next year's contribution, and, at the ſame time, to petition his majeſty that a parliament ſhould be aſſembled with all convenient ſpeed.

A PARLIAMENT was, for ſeveral reaſons, highly deſireable. The voluntary contributions to the ſupport of the army had been already ſo long continued, and ſo regularly renewed, that the ſubjects had reaſon to apprehend, that they would be converted into an hereditary charge upon their lands. The revenues of the crown required improvements; the circumſtances of the realm called for an equitable ſettlement. Needy projectors, and rapacious courtiers, ſtill continued the ſcandalous traffick of pleading the king's title againſt the poſſeſſors of eſtates, of ſeizing their lands, or forcing them to grievous compoſitions. The deputy had indeed received a commiſſion for the remedy of defective titles: but the ingenuity of court lawyers, in defeating the effect of ſeveral former commiſſions, had impreſſed the ſubjects with a laſting terrour, and left them no hopes of quiet and ſecurity, but in ſuch a provision as their own parliament ſhould deviſe. The council therefore were readily influenced by the hopes of a parliament, to renew the contribution for one year longer. Both
their

their grant and their petition were transmitted to the king; the whole body of the realm was influenced by their example, and readily concurred in both.

WENTWORTH thus obtained a supply for the immediate occasions of his government. The army was paid, clothed, strictly inspected, duly disciplined, without burden or offence to those districts, in which they were quartered ; and, being often drawn out in bodies, added to the reputation of the state, by the gallantry of their appearance, terrified the disorderly, and protected the good subjects. But the assembling a parliament was, as he expressed it, a matter fit to be weightily considered. Charles had an habitual horror of such assemblies^m. “ As for
 “ that hydra,” said he to his lord-deputy, “ take good
 “ heed ; for you know, that here I have found it as
 “ well cunning as malicious. It is true that your
 “ grounds are well laid, and I assure you, that I
 “ have great trust in your care and judgment ; yet
 “ my opinion is that it will not be the worse for
 “ my service, though their obstinacy make you to
 “ break them ; for I fear that they have some ground,
 “ to demand more than it is fit for me to give.” In effect, the king must naturally have apprehended, that an Irish parliament would claim the performance of his royal promise, and press for a confirmation of the graces, transmitted in instruction to lord Faulkland. Some of these were conceived to be inconsistent with the power necessary to be maintained in Ireland ; others seemed equally repugnant to the present profit of the crown. The scheme of an extensive plantation in Connaught, if not avowed, was firmly resolved on ; and the limitation of the king’s title to sixty years, it was computed, would
 deprive

deprive the crown of full twenty thousand pounds annual revenue. The deputy, however, relying on his own address for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehensions, by reminding him, that such an assembly in Ireland was the less formidable, as by the law of Poynings, no act could pass which had not previously received the royal inspection and approbation. It was resolvedⁿ to comply with the desires of the nation; and the whole delicate affair was entrusted to the conduct of Lord Wentworth.

THE great object of this lord was^o, to prevail on the subjects to grant a liberal supply; and at the same time to evade the confirmation of any of those graces of the year 1628; which were now deemed inconsistent with the interests of the crown. It was uncertain what impression an immediate denial of any of these might make upon the houses of parliament. To guard against all danger he proposed, that two distinct sessions should be held, and that the king's promise should be given for both: the first for providing for the army and the debts of the crown; the second for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the subject. His success depended in a great measure on the dispositions of the Members, who were to compose the house of commons. Great care was used in the nomination of sheriffs. Persons well affected to government were encouraged to stand candidates for particular places, and supported in their elections. No reliance could be placed either on the recusants, or the puritanic protestants; all depended on a dexterous management of their passions and interests. It was contrived, therefore, that the lower house should be composed of both papists and protestants, so equally balanced, that neither party

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should

should appear predominant; and Wentworth condescended to practise secretly with each. To the recusants he observed, that if some supply were not devised for the army, before the present contribution should expire, government must necessarily recur to the weekly levies on absenters from the established worship. The protestants were reminded, that, until a regular provision should be made for the necessities of government, the king could not refuse the bounty of the recusants, or discontent them by the execution of penal statutes. Thus, while he rendered each more tractable by their apprehensions of the other party, he at the same time took care, that a sufficient number of military officers should be chosen burgessees, who, by their immediate dependence on the crown, would on every critical occasion be directed by the deputy, and incline the balance of parties, as he should deem necessary.

WITH this political address Wentworth mixed no inconsiderable portion of his pride and severity. It had been usual in Ireland, previous to the holding a parliament, that the lords of the pale should be summoned and consulted, on the time, circumstances, and business of this assembly. It was moved in council, that this custom should be now observed; but the deputy suppressed the motion peremptorily and severely. These lords deputed one of their number, the earl of Fingal p, to remind him of the custom: he treated his overture with contempt and disdain, and reprimanded the presumption of it with an indecent acrimony. When the council had assembled to deliberate on the causes and considerations, and the bills to be transmitted, previous to the session of parliament, they at first seemed little inclined to tread precisely

cifully in the path, which the lord deputy pointed out; they proposed several bills to be transmitted together with the subsidies; as good inducements to content the houses: 9 It was expected that the bill of subsidies should be sent with blanks, that the king himself might prescribe the number and manner of these donations: the council on the other hand contended, that the sums required should be immediately ascertained, and that they should not exceed the strict bounds of necessity. The deputy quickly interrupted these deliberations: he told them, that instead of consulting what might please the people in parliament, the duty of their place required them to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one; that his majesty deserved and expected the confidence of his people; that he would admit of no conditions, no bargain or stipulation, and no constraint upon the free and cheerful hearts of his people. A permanent provision was necessary for his army; not a momentary and precarious supply. "The king," said he, "desires this great work may be settled by parliament. He covets to walk in this, as the most beaten path, yet not more legal than that of his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals, and their own safety, it must be done without them. As a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means: disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him in the head of that army; and there either persuade them fully, that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands, so justly laid upon me.

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"Nay,

“ Nay, I do not hold it impossible to effect his de-
 “ fires with the general consent of the nation, by
 “ taking the supply from those only who are best
 “ able to answer it, and all this while have paid
 “ little or nothing.”

THE counsellors, who but now canvassed every proposition of government with freedom, were in a moment shamefully confounded and silenced by this insolence. They trembled; and acquiesced in every measure proposed by the deputy. The parliament assembled in extraordinary pomp. The Speaker of the commons was chosen on the recommendation of lord Wentworth. After some fruitless attempts of the recusants, to gain a majority to their side, by proceeding directly to purge the house of members unduly chosen or returned, the question of supply was proposed. With one voice the commons voted a grant of six subsidies, four for paying the debts of the establishment, two for buying in rents and pensions: not that the uses were determined by a formal appropriation: they entrusted the management of their supplies solely to the deputy; requesting only by petition, that it might be applied to these purposes. Such zeal did they express, and such delicate concern for the honour of their chief governour, that when Sir Robert Talbot had been betrayed in debate into some unguarded reflections on his conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to close custody, until he should implore pardon of the lord deputy on his knees. With this prompt compliance, and this ardour of affection, they seemed to have imbibed a full portion of the arbitrary spirit of the present government; for, when one of their members had
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been affronted, they instantly commanded the sheriff of Dublin to inflict corporal punishment on the offender.

IN the upper house, the current did not run so violently in favour of the lord deputy and his measures. At the very opening of the session, he experienced that the spirit, of the old English nobility of Ireland, by no means corresponded with the contemptuous ideas he had formed of the whole nation. To guard against excesses, to which contending parties might be suddenly transported, he revived an order issued in the late reign by lord Chichester, which forbade the members to enter their respective houses with their swords. They had usually complied, without considering the insult on their privileges. The usher of the black-rod attended at the entrance of the house of lords to receive the swords of the peers. The earl of Ormond, lately come to age, with a spirit and understanding suited to his descent, heard the order with scorn, and refused to deliver up the necessary ensign of his dignity. Provoked at a rude and peremptory repetition of the demand, he told the officer, that if he must receive his sword, it should be in his body: and thus marched to his seat with a stately indignation. The lord deputy highly incensed at this singular contempt of his authority, summoned the earl of Ormond to answer for his disobedience before the council. The young lord appeared, avowed his knowledge of the order, and his own wilful disobedience; but added, that he had received the investiture of his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, and was both entitled and bound by the royal command, to attend his duty in parliament, *gladio cinctus*. Wentworth was abashed and
confounded

confounded. He consulted his friends, whether he should at once crush, or reconcile this daring spirit. They reminded him of the necessity of gaining some among the great personages of Ireland; of the power, connections, and capacity of the earl; of the good dispositions he had already discovered to the interests of the crown; of his influence in the house of peers, fortified as he was by the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore, and Aungier; they advised, that the lord deputy should, by all means, reconcile the earl, and attach him to his interest. The advice was pursued: Ormond soon appeared a particular favourite at the Irish court; and, at the age of twenty-four, was admitted into the privy-council.

BUT, as birth and station are not sufficient of themselves to support their own consequence, the young earl of Kildare was not treated with the same attention. Provoked at the neglect of the lord deputy, he had determined to send his proxy, and absent himself from parliament. The king by letter commanded his personal attendance. He obeyed; but either from resentment, or through the influence of his father-in-law the earl of Cork, warmly opposed every measure of the deputy. Wentworth was provoked; and his resentment appeared in his imperious treatment of the earl. Impatient of such insolence, he hurried secretly to the court of England, without licence of departure, as if he were determined to seek redress from the throne. But Charles had been effectually prepossessed against him, and his precipitate and fruitless adventure ended in regaining the royal favour by a submission to the deputy, and a promise of future service.

IN the mean time^u, the peers of Ireland seemed neither intimidated by the severity of the chief governour, nor deceived by his artifices. They complained loudly of public grievances; pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces; were particularly urgent for establishing that article, which confined the king's claims on their lands, to a retrospect of sixty years; and frequently mentioned the royal promise, in a manner highly offensive to an administration, resolved that it should not be fulfilled. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet further. Without regard to the provisions of Poynings' statute, or considering themselves as the king's hereditary council, and therefore, particularly entitled to the designation, mentioned in this statute, they ordered the attorney-general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. No governour was more tenacious of the law of Poynings, or considered an inviolable adherence to this law in a light of greater consequence to the crown, than lord Wentworth. Yet, for the present, these extraordinary proceedings were unnoticed. The warm temper of the lords was less alarming, as the neglect of a committee of the commons, in not attending a conference in due time, had occasioned a quarrel, which prevented any dangerous concert between the two houses. The bills of subsidy were passed. The only other bill, which the administration intended should be enacted in this session, was one for the confirmation of letters patent to be passed on the new commission, for remedy of defective titles. This also was established into a law, and attended by a petition from the lords to the chief governour, that
this

this commission should be executed with such speed and moderation, that the royal favour might be the more welcome, and the subsidies the better paid. His answer was gracious; the session on the point of closing; it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord deputy on concluding the session, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords. The protest recites the purport of the law of Poynings, and the explanatory law of Philip and Mary. It enumerates the several bills drawn up by order of the house of lords, and which had in their name been presented to the lord deputy, in order for their transmission into England. “ All which proceedings of their lordships, We the lord deputy,” saith “ Wentworth, “ taking into due consideration, “ and weighing with the said statutes, although we “ do not conceive, that the said lords, advisedly or “ purposedly intended to violate or innovate in any “ thing, otherwise than by the said statutes are “ provided; yet, for the avoiding of any misrepresentation, which, by reason of that manner of “ proceeding, may in after-times be made, to the “ intrenchment of the said acts of parliament, or “ his majesty’s regal power, whereof we are and “ will be always most tender; in discharge of the “ duty we owe to the preservation of his majesty’s “ honour, and that the like mistake in their lordship’s proceedings may futurely be avoided:— “ We have therefore thought fit this day, in full “ parliament, to PROTEST against that course held “ by their lordships, as not any ways belonging to “ their lordships, to give order to the king’s learned “ counsel, or any other, for the framing or drawing “ up

“ up any acts to pass in parliament ; but that the
“ same solely belongs to us the lord deputy and
“ council. We the lord deputy do hereby further
“ declare, that their lordships have power only by
“ remonstrance and petition to represent to the lord
“ deputy and council, for the time being, such
“ public considerations as they shall think fit and
“ good for the Commonwealth, and so to submit
“ them to be drawn into acts, and transmitted into
“ England, or otherwise altered or rejected, accord-
“ ing as the lord deputy and council, in their wis-
“ dom, shall judge and hold expedient ; and that,
“ in such wise as the said acts of parliament, in
“ these cases, have limited and appointed. And
“ we the lord deputy do trust, that their lordships
“ will take this as a seasonable and necessary ad-
“ monishment, from us, and forbear the like course
“ hereafter.” This protest was received without
any apparent ill temper in the lords ; and the session
closed, with the utmost triumph on the part of the
chief governour, for the concessions he had obtain-
ed.

THE subsequent meetings of this parliament, though intended solely for consulting the interests of the people, yet did not pass without clamour and dissatisfaction. When provision had been once made for the necessities of government, Wentworth spoke with greater freedom of the graces. He told the commons plainly, that some of them were only occasional and temporary ; not proper to be enacted when the occasion was removed ; that others were already provided for ; several difficult to be regulated by an invariable law ; some indeed fit to be given in charge, and referred to the care and integrity of the proper officers. In two material points he absolutely

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denied their request ; one for limiting the king's title to sixty years ; which was judged inconsistent with his service ; the other for enrolling former surrenders, and passing new patents of estates in the province of Connaught, and county of Clare ; which would have defeated the scheme of a western plantation, with which the king was totally possessed ; for plantations were now considered as engines of the crown for raising money.

SOME more equitable designs, for the interests of the subjects, gave particular offence to the recusants^w. By the common law of Ireland, lands and tenements had not been devisable by will ; so that no one could, in that manner, legally provide for his younger children, by charging his real estate, when his personal was not sufficient ; nor could they be regularly conveyed from one to another, unless by solemn livery and seisin, matter of record, or writing sufficiently made, without fraud or artifice. Ways, however, were invented to alter the property and possession of lands, by fraudulent feoffments, and other assurances, to secret uses and trusts, by long leases, for near a thousand years ; sometimes by wills, either in writing, or by words, or in cases of extremity, by signs and tokens. Such feoffments and long leases were at first used by the Romish party, to defeat the king of his wardships, and save the heirs of lands held *in capite*, from suing out their liveries, which could not regularly be obtained, without taking the oath of supremacy. But these artifices were also employed to defeat other lords of their rights and aids, widows of their dowers, and widowers of their tenancies by courtesy. Titles were thus rendered intricate ; heirs unjustly disinherited

herited, without knowing whom to sue for recovery of their rights; and perpetual occasions offered for perjury. The king was deprived of the dues incident to the crown; the lands of rebels and felons, attainted, were screened from his claims; and men were the less deterred from entering into rebellion, when they ran no hazard, but of their own persons.

For remedy of all, two acts were framed, purporting, “ that all persons, for whose use any others were seized of lands, rent-charges, &c. should be deemed in actual possession thereof; and that no conveyance of any estate of inheritance or freehold, by bargain and sale, should be valid, unless by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled, in one of the king’s courts at Dublin, or in the county where such estate lay, before the *custos rotulorum*, two justices, and the clerk of the peace, within six months after the date of the deeds. Such as were seized of estates in fee-simple, were to be enabled to alienate them by will in writing, or by any other act lawfully executed: Those who held of the king in chief by knight’s service, or by knight’s service not in chief, to dispose of two thirds of their lands; those, who held by soccage, of the whole; reserving to the king, in this latter case, his rights and fines of alienation, and, in the former, reserving not only these, but also the wardship and custody of the other third: the fine for alienation being fixed at a third part of the yearly value of the lands devised.”

THESE regulations could not be agreeable to the recusants; for they were directly pointed against those artifices they had invented to defeat the king of his wardship of minors, and custody of their

lands; and they empowered him to have those minors educated from their early years in the communion of the established church. But the influence of government soon conquered their opposition. The acts were passed, together, with a third for vacating fraudulent conveyances, sales, and alienations made since the beginning of the late reign.

THE other laws of this parliament met with little obstruction, as they were calculated purely for regulating the police, or for promoting the quiet and improvement of the realm, reforming the barbarous customs, and refining the manners of the people; abolishing odious distinctions between the original natives and other subjects; adopting the most valuable of the English statutes enacted since the reign of Henry the seventh; regulating the prosecutions on penal statutes, so as to guard the subject against grievance and oppression; preventing the depauperation of ecclesiastical dignities, colleges, and hospitals, by leases at a less rent than half the value of the premises; with other provisions for the security of estates, and improvement of lands. These, and such like institutions, do honour to the administration by which they were supported. But the support of lord Wentworth proved in one instance insufficient. The two houses united in a petition that the king would establish a mint in Ireland. The deputy readily promised to enforce the request; but the English council, whose views or judgments were not so favourable to the Irish subjects, defeated their application, “thereby,” saith Mr. Carte, “giving
 “them occasion to reflect on the unhappiness of
 “their situation, in being under the controul of a
 “body of men of a different country, who have no
 “*natural inclination* for the welfare of their’s, nor
 any

“ *any interest* in the good of it.” An assertion, which we must pronounce false and precipitate, unless we consider the tempers and understandings of their fellow-subjects of England, as odious and contemptible to an extraordinary degree. But the parliament of Ireland do not seem on this occasion to have thought or spoken with the asperity of this author; for when an act of free and general pardon was followed by a dissolution, they departed with content and satisfaction^x. Some few provisions for the public good, which had been defeated by the recusant members, Wentworth, in the high strain of prerogative, determined to establish by an act of state.

WITH the parliament, sat also a convocation of the clergy. They granted eight subsidies to the king; and at the same time solicited redress of several grievances, and correction of several disorders in ecclesiastical affairs. The condition of their church was at this time deplorable. Their places of worship in ruin; the possessions of the clergy alienated, in the midst of public confusion and disorders. Appropriations, Commendams, and violent intrusions, had reduced the rural clergy to contempt and beggary. Absolute grants, and long leases, made by avaricious incumbents, or extorted from the timid and oppressed, had reduced the revenues of bishoprics to a scandalous insufficiency. And even the provisions made for the clergy in the late reign, on settling the plantations, had, in a great measure been defeated by artful and fraudulent commissioners. Ignorance, negligence, and corruption of manners in the established clergy, were the consequences of their poverty. A Romish hierarchy, which exercised a regular jurisdiction in every quarter of the kingdom, were

^x Strafford's Lett. vol. I. 432.

were sufficiently assiduous to take advantage of their absence or neglect, and in some places had possessed themselves of ecclesiastical lands. The more virulent of the Scottish presbyterians, on the other hand, were outrageously zealous for their own discipline and worship, offered daily insults to the established church-government, and treated even its rites and worship with provoking contempt.

THESE sectaries, as they were called, appeared to lord Wentworth, at least equally enemies to the truth of religion with the popish party. A perfect conformity was the great work, which he and his friend Laud, were sincerely zealous to establish thoroughly in Ireland, but which indeed exceeded the abilities of both. The procedure of the lord deputy, however, was sufficiently judicious; for he began with providing churches to receive, and able ministers to teach the people. Commissions for the reparation of churches issued through the kingdom. The example of the king, who consented to settle the appropriations possessed by the crown upon resident clergy, the desire of recommending themselves to the deputy, and the apprehensions of his power and severity, influenced many to a voluntary concurrence in the work of reformation, by erecting and endowing places of worship, and resigning those possessions, which had been usurped from the church. The more reluctant were either attacked, or threatened with rigorous prosecutions; and from the earl of Cork, in particular, the deputy contrived to wrest about two thousand pounds annual revenue of tythes, which, from the want of incumbents, and the disorder of the times, he had gotten into his possession, and converted to appropriations. Laws were procured in the late parliament for restitution of the
rights

rights of the clergy, and provisions made to prevent all future alienations.

THE cares of lord Wentworth were extended to the education and instruction of the rising generation of Irish clergy. He inspected minutely into the state and circumstances of the university of Dublin; and found them in considerable disorder, partly by the means of a weak governour, and partly by the defects of the present statutes. The governour was removed, and a person conceived to be more sufficient, substituted in his place. The statutes were submitted to the inspection of the archbishop of Canterbury; who was persuaded to draw up a new body of laws for this university, as he had done for that of Oxford; and these were established by the royal authority.

THE great point for which the king, archbishop Laud, and the lord deputy were equally zealous, still remained to be effected; the complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in this latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. The clergy of the puritanic cast were by no means favourers of such an attempt; and affected a zealous solicitude for what they called the independence of their church. Usher, the head of this party, had never been regarded by lord Wentworth with a favourable eye; but, on account of his station, character, and popularity, was to be treated with respect and caution. It was mortifying to the compiler of the Irish articles of religion in the late reign, to find them now threatened with a solemn abolition; and had the temper of this learned prelate disposed him to turbulence and opposition, he might have

have proved highly vexatious and embarrassing to the deputy, supported as he was by the judgments and affections of almost all the Irish clergy. To reconcile him to the projected reformation, it was agreed, that no censure should be passed on any of the former Irish articles, but that they should be virtually, not formally abrogated, by the establishment of those of the church of England; and also, that the English canons should not be received in a body, but a collection made of such as might be most acceptable, to form a rule of discipline for the Irish church. The articles were received, and the canons established agreeable to the lord deputy's mind^z; yet more by the influence of his authority, than the inclinations of a great part of the clergy; although but one member of the convocation ventured publicly to avow his dissent.

THESE regulations in the ecclesiastical system were followed by an establishment too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of an high commission court, which was erected in Dublin after the English model, with the same formality, and the same tremendous powers^a. The intentions of this establishment, (as the deputy explains them to Laud) were to countenance the despised state of the clergy, to support the ecclesiastical courts, and restrain the extortions of their officers, to annul foreign jurisdiction, to punish polygamies and adulteries, to provide for the maintenance and residence of the clergy, to enquire into the application of charitable and pious donations, to bring the people to a conformity of religion, “ and, “ in the way to all these, raise perhaps a “ good revenue to the crown.”

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THE favourite object, indeed, of this chief governor, which he ever kept in view, through all his transactions, was this of improving the revenue, and supplying the necessities of his royal master^b. And when for this purpose we find him protecting and extending commerce, guarding the coasts from piracy, introducing manufactures, and encouraging a spirit of well directed industry, we must acknowledge, that such means were liberal and laudable. A subject of Ireland should with gratitude record, that one scheme happily and judiciously devised by lord Wentworth; laid the first foundation of the present affluence and prosperity of this country.

HE found among the Irish little trade or manufactures, except some small beginnings of a cloathing trade, which promised to encrease, and might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England. Ireland furnished wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets, on more moderate terms than the English traders. A governor, particularly jealous of any diminution of the king's customs, was alarmed, at this prospect; he considered farther, that the Irish subjects, if restrained from indraping their own wool, must of necessity fetch their cloathing from England; so as in some sort to be dependent on this country for their livelihood. Hence the connection of these realms must become firm and indissoluble, as the Irish could not revolt from their allegiance to the crown, without nakedness to themselves and their families. For these reasons he laid discouragements on their woollen manufacture; but at the same time determined to establish another article of trade, at least equally beneficial to this

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^b Carte, Orm, Straff. Lett. vol. I.

people, and, which promised service, rather than detriment to England.

IT was judged, that the soil of many parts of Ireland was well fitted to the raising of flax; some experiments made by order of the deputy confirmed it; the women were naturally addicted to spinning; the living, and consequently the labour of the Irish was cheap; could they be trained to the manufacture of linen-cloth. Wentworth, with the sanguine hopes of a projector, conceived that they might soon be enabled to undersell the French and Hollanders; he therefore happily determined to establish this manufacture in Ireland. Infant schemes are ever attended with an expence, terrible to men of cautious and contracted minds. To encourage a spirit of enterprize, Wentworth himself embarked in his favourite project, even to an expence (as he stated it) of thirty thousand pounds. Flaxseed was imported from Holland; work-men were brought from France and the Low Countries. The seed prospered, the people were employed; looms fitted up; regulations prescribed for yarn and cloth, so as to secure the sale by the goodness of the commodity. Such were the beginnings of the linen trade of Ireland; which, though fatally interrupted by the subsequent disorders of this country, yet revived with all its happy consequences on the return of peace and tranquillity.

BUT such schemes of improvement, how promising so ever, were yet gradual in their operation, and calculated rather for the advantage of future times, than for supplying the present necessities of the crown. Wentworth was impatient to signalize^d his administration

stration by a service of immediate and extensive emolument to his royal master. His project was nothing less, than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new plantation through this whole province: a project, which, when first proposed, in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement, but which suited the undismayed and enterprising genius of lord Wentworth. For this he had opposed the confirmation of the royal graces, transmitted to lord Faulkland, and taken to himself the odium of so flagrant a violation of the royal promise. The parliament was at an end; and the deputy at leisure to execute a scheme, which, as it was offensive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of state, and the memorials of ancient monasteries were ransacked, to ascertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was soon discovered, that in the grant of Henry the third, to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds were reserved to the crown, adjacent to the castle of Athlone; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alledged to have been forfeited by Aedh O'Connor, the Irish provincial chieftain; that the lands and lordship of de Burgo, descended lineally to Edward the fourth; and were confirmed to the Crown by a statute of Henry the seventh. The ingenuity of court-lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the possessors of these lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was found, that the indentures made between Sir John Perrot, and the inhabitants of this province, were irregular, and unauthorized by his commission; and the queen's patents voided by the non-performance of conditions; that those, granted by James, were obtained on false suggestions, and executed without attention to the

royal will and direction. In several patents, passed by commission of this king, there was reserved to the crown, without particular authority, a tenure by common knight's service: a kind of tenure particularly agreeable to the recusants, as it did not oblige them to do homage, or take the oath of supremacy. But the lawyers were now confident, that, as this was not particularly warranted by the commission, as the law ever implied a tenure *in capite*, where none in particular is expressed, and as a tenure by common knight's service, was less beneficial to the crown, the grants must be adjudged to have been made in deceit of the crown, which was hereby defrauded of its wards and other profits, and, of consequence, void and illegal.

ARMED with these authorities, Wentworth, at the head of the commissioners of plantation, proceeded to the western province. The inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, had already acknowledged the king's title to their lands, and submitted to a plantation. It was now deemed expedient to begin with those of Roscommon. The Commission was opened in this county; the evidences of the king's title produced, examined, and submitted to a jury, formed of the principal inhabitants, purposely, (as the lord deputy expressed it) that "they might answer the king a round fine in the castle-chamber, in case they should prevaricate." They were told by Wentworth, that his majesty's intention in establishing his undoubted title, was to make them a rich and civil people; that he purposed not to deprive them of their just possessions, but to invest them with a considerable part of his own: that he needed not their interposition to vindicate his right, which

which might be established by the usual course of law, upon an information of intrusion; but that he wished his people to share with him in the honour and profit of the glorious and excellent work he was now to execute; to his majesty it was indifferent, whether their verdict should acknowledge or deny his title. If they were inclined to truth, and to their own interests, they were to find the title for the king; if to do that which was simply best for his majesty, without regard to their own good, the deputy advised them, roughly and pertinaciously to deny to find any title at all.

THE presence and interposition of a lord deputy, and a deputy whose character and temper were fitted to operate on men's passions, had probably their full effect on this occasion. The king's title was found without scruple or hesitation; and the verdict attended with a petition, for an equitable treatment of present proprietors, and a due provision for the church. The deputy not only promised ample satisfaction in these particulars, but published a proclamation, whereby all proprietors throughout the province, were assured of easy compositions, and of new and indefeasible grants. The counties of Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roscommon, and found the king's title with equal cheerfulness.

IT now remained to prosecute the royal claims in the county of Galway; but here, as was suspected, the commissioners found greater difficulties to encounter. The inhabitants were almost wholly of the Romish Communion, influenced by their clergy, encouraged by recusant lawyers, and supported by the power of the governour of their county. Uliac, earl of Clanricarde and Saint Alban's, a nobleman
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of excellent character, potently allied, and of considerable esteem and consequence at the court of England. There he now resided, but held a constant correspondence with his kinsmen and countrymen; and was their avowed and zealous patron, at a time when his own great possessions were in danger, and his country threatened with a sudden and violent revolution of property. Men thus influenced, encouraged, and supported, were not easily intimidated by the deputy. Their lawyers pleaded boldly and violently against the king's title. The jury were deaf to every argument in its favour, and refused to find it. Wentworth was enraged: he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff; and bound the obstinate jurors to appear in the castle-chamber, and answer for their offence, where they were fined each in the sum of four thousand pounds, sentenced to imprisonment, until it should be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court, upon their knees.

THE severity of this sentence, and even the whole proceedings of the lord deputy, not in Galway only, but in the other western counties, were represented in England with every circumstance of aggravation, and afforded ample matter for invective to the numerous enemies of lord Wentworth. He was accused of rancour and scandalous injustice to the earl of Clanricarde. Every instance of his rigorous administration was recalled to view; and the personal enemies he had made in Ireland, were countenanced in their complaints. He had obliged lord Wilmot, who had for many years commanded the army in this country, to make compensation for lands he had usurped from the crown, and unjustly alienated; he had compelled the earl of Cork to re-
sign

sign his depredations of the church; these were represented as instances of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. His friend Laud was alarmed at the clamours raised against him, and hinted the propriety of a temperate and cautious conduct; but the temper of lord Wentworth was too violent and headstrong, and his maxims of administration, too rigorous, not to enflame, instead of allaying the virulence of his enemies. In some instances, he seemed to have conceived, that the dignity of his government could not be supported but by such exertions of authority as bespeak an utter intoxication of power and greatness.

SIR Piers Crosby had been distinguished as a soldier in the expedition to the isle of Re, and the principal means of saving the English forces in their retreat. He commanded a regiment, and was of the privy council in Ireland. In the second session of the late parliament, he ventured to oppose some measures of administration. The deputy reprimanded, and accused him of a violation of his oath, in voting against bills to which he had assented in council, and concurred in transmitting them. Crosby was sequestered from the council-board. He complained of this severity by petition; he desired licence to repair to England, as if resolved to appeal to the king. It was refused; and, on the representations of Wentworth, his majesty directed him to be removed entirely from the privy-council. A libel appeared, containing severe reflections on the conduct of the lord deputy; and Crosby was immediately suspected as the author: on this suspicion he was arrested and committed to prison; his study opened forcibly, his papers secured and ransacked; yet no copy of the libel could be found to prove his guilt. But if he had

had not framed, he had at least encouraged and divulged the slander: on this ground, a virulent prosecution was commenced against him in the castle-chamber. Wentworth now affected to interpose, and solicited the king to pardon him; but Charles^f, with his usual stateliness and severity, commanded that the offender should be left to the censure of a court composed of obsequious ministers and creatures of the deputy. The fine and damages decreed were so excessive, that Crosby found it necessary to save himself from utter ruin by an humiliating submission to lord Wentworth.

BUT neither this instance of rigour, nor the imperious commitment of the earl of Kildare to prison, for hesitating to submit his property to the sentence of the privy-council, made such an impression either in England or Ireland, as the amazing severity experienced by lord Mountnorris.

SIR Francis Annesly, created baron of Mountnorris, had adventured into Ireland in the late reign, and acquired fortune, station and consequence. He had been honoured with several marks of favour and confidence both by James and Charles; and, at the arrival of lord Wentworth to his government, was considered, and represented by the deputy, as particularly attached to the interests of the crown. The noble historian describes him as a man, whose usual course was to insinuate himself into the affection of a new chief governour, and to malign him on his departure; and, if we may believe the representations of lord Wentworth, his private character was neither respectable nor decent^h. However these things

^f Strafford's Lett. Vol. I. p. 393.

^g Clarendon, vol. I.

^h Straff. Lett. p. 402, 403.

things may be, some causes of mutual dissatisfaction had arisen between the deputy and this lord, and laid the foundation of a rancorous enmity. Mountnorris had, by order of the king, been abridged of certain fees usually received in his office of vice-treasurer, which he naturally ascribed to the instances of the lord deputy. To mortify him still further, Wentworth discovered that a gratuity had been paid to expedite the discharge of a sum, granted by warrant from the treasury; and commanded that it should be instantly refunded. Mountnorris pleaded, that the money had been received by one of his domestics without his privity; so that the deputy could not enjoy the additional satisfaction of removing him from his office. He was impatient for an occasion to make him feel the weight of power; Mountnorris, with equal impatience, waited for the time when that power should expire.

It is scarcely to be supposed, that these lords, thus circumstanced, should be ever cautious and guarded in speaking of each other; or, if Wentworth had less occasion for reserve, that Mountnorris, in some unguarded moment of privacy and social confidence, should not be surprized into some expression of intemperance or imprudence. A few days after the dissolution of parliament, in a private company, at the table of the lord chancellor, it was observed, that the deputy had just now been much provoked by the awkwardness of a domestic; who, attending him in an accession of the gout, had hurt his foot grievously in removing a stool. One of the guests, turning to lord Mountnorris, observed, that the offender was of his own name and kindred. The domestic, it seems, had formerly experienced the haughtiness of the deputy, who, at a review of some

troops, had threatened him rudely with his staff, or given him a slight blow. From this incident, lord Mountnorris took occasion to observe, that he had perhaps wilfully offended, in revenge of that public affront he had once received from the lord deputy; “but the gentleman has a brother,” said he, who “would not have taken SUCH A REVENGE.”

AFTER an interval of some months, this mysterious expression was conveyed to the lord deputy, by some officious creatures of power. His pride and resentment dictated the most obnoxious interpretation of it; and nothing less than the utter ruin of Mountnorris was determined, as the punishment adequate to his indiscretion. He commanded a company in the king’s service; he was seized, brought as a culprit to be tried by martial law, in a court where Wentworth presided as general, accused of uttering words disgraceful to his superiour in command, of breeding mutiny in the army, and “impeaching the obeying his general;” and his expressions at the lord chancellor’s were attested, and sufficiently proved. In vain did Mountnorris plead, that they ought in justice to be interpreted favourably; in vain did he profess his own intentions to have been really respectful to the lord deputy. His judges pronounced the words to be incapable of any indulgent construction; and that, aggravated as they were by the manner of delivering them, they rendered the speaker a delinquent in a transcendent manner, against the person of his general, and the king’s authority. The obsequious court with one voice decreed, that lord Mountnorris should be imprisoned for his offence, deprived of his commission in the army, disarmed, declared incapable of any military office,

office, and shot to death, or beheaded, at the pleasure of the general.

THERE was a ridiculous meanness in Wentworth's apology for this transaction; that the sentence against Mountnorris was the act of a court of officers, in which he had neither declared his own opinion, nor openly influenced that of others: nor was it accepted as a palliation of his insolence and malice, that he had not, with a vengeance perfectly diabolical, really intended to put this lord to death; that he and his council petitioned the king to remit the full and final severity of the sentence; and that Mountnorris, harrassed by a rigorous prosecution, mortified by an ignominious sentence, deprived of his offices, and wearied by the anguish of a tedious confinement, at length obtained his pardon from the throne. The enemies of Wentworth in England inveighed against this prosecution with particular triumph; his friends were scandalized; and even Laud, with all his imperious violence, trembled at the bold excesses of severity which his friend had hazarded. But Wentworth, confiding in the favour of his royal master, was equally unmoved by the clamour of enemies, and the apprehensions of friendsⁱ. In defiance of popular odium, he quitted the reins of government for a while, and appeared in London^k. Before the king and council he expatiated on the services he had performed in Ireland, his care of the revenue, the army, and the church, the excellent laws he had procured, and his schemes for the advancement of commerce and manufactures. He lamented that the subjects of Ireland had in some instances been treated as aliens and foreigners; as in

ⁱ A. D. 1636.

^k Carte. Orm. vol. III. p. 2—11.

the imposition of four shillings on every tun of coals, which was as much as either the French or Dutch had ever paid; the excessive rates charged on horses transported into this kingdom, to the particular inconvenience of the army, and the duties on live cattle sent from Ireland. In these particular grievances, he prevailed on the king to grant an immediate redress; and, when he attempted to apologize for the rigour of his administration, Charles interrupted him with a warm approbation of his conduct. He was desired to proceed in the work so happily begun; and assured that it must be acknowledged as the best service which the crown ever had received in Ireland.

HE returned to his government with the same principles, and pursued the same conduct. Individuals were frequently aggrieved by an administration which disdained the rigid and exact restraints of law; but the kingdom in general experienced the good effects of that composur  produced by the terror of a severe, vigilant, and active government. The revenue was considerably encreased by improvements made in the constant rents, and the sums raised by fines, on renewal of letters patent, and grants for plantations. The finding the royal title to the possessions of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, produced fifteen thousand pounds. The city of London was sued for breach of covenants in the plantations of Derry and Colerain, and their forfeit lands redeemed by a fine of seventy thousand pounds. But, notwithstanding all the pains taken for the establishment of the western plantation, notwithstanding the case of tenure was solemnly argued, and judgment finally pronounced for the king, yet such was the clamour raised against the attempt, and such the encreasing

encreasing disorders of England, that the scheme was laid aside. The death of the earl of Saint Alban's enflamed the popular odium against the lord deputy: it was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman, at the attempts against his property by an insolent governour, who possessed himself of the earl's house at Portumna, and in his hall held that court which impeached his title to his lands.

THOSE enemies of both kingdoms, who watched his conduct, and interpreted every act of his administration with severity, were still farther gratified by his rigorous treatment of Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland¹. One Sir John Gifford had married a daughter of this nobleman, and claimed some settlement of fortune on his wife, which the father was not disposed to grant. A petition to the privy council was favourably received from Gifford, his cause heard, and sentence pronounced in his favour. The illegality of such proceedings was by this time generally understood in Ireland. Loftus refused obedience to the order of council; was instantly sequestered from that board, ordered to deliver the great seal into the hands of the lord deputy, and committed to prison. He had not scrupled to declare, that the sentence of council had been dictated by Wentworth, and to accuse him as the real author of his disgrace. His suggestions had the greater weight, when letters were divulged, written by the lord deputy to the wife of Sir John Gifford, in a strain so affectionate and gallant, as raised suspicions of an unlawful intercourse between them. The violence of clamour against the oppression and injustice of this governour was thus highly encreased. Loftus was encouraged

¹ Carte. Clarend.

encouraged to appeal to the throne; but Charles was fully prejudiced in favour of a man who acted agreeable to his own principles of government; and Loftus found it necessary to purchase his liberty and his former station by an humble petition to the lord deputy and council, by which he acknowledged his offence in the most mortifying terms of submission and repentance.

BUT, however individuals were aggrieved by the imperious severity of the present government, the nation, which had never known a strict and scrupulous administration of English law, cleared from every thing arbitrary or oppressive, was abundantly consoled by the advantages derived from the administration of lord Wentworth. The army, which had long proved an odious and intolerable burden to the inhabitants, yet scarcely of essential service to the crown, was well disciplined, duely paid, preserved in good condition, inoffensive to the peaceable subjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. The revenue was unencumbered, and a large sum lay ready in the exchequer, to answer any sudden emergency. The ecclesiastical establishment was protected, the revenues of the church improved, and abler and more respectable teachers generally provided for the people. The Scottish puritans were indeed sometimes offended at the indulgence shewn to recusants; but in the present situation of the kingdom, where far the greater number of inhabitants, and these possessed of power and consequence, were of the Romish communion, the most obvious maxims of policy forbade any rigorous execution of penal statutes. It was sufficient to confine recusants to a less public and offensive exercise of religion, so as to preserve the authority of government,

ment, without provoking violent and dangerous discontents. Peace, order, obedience, and industry, distinguished the present period from that of any former administration; the value of lands was encreased; commerce extended; the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum; the commodities exported from Ireland, were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported; and shipping was found to have encreased even an hundred fold. Such were the benefits derived from the administration of lord Wentworth, however in many instances justly unpopular, odious, and oppressive.

C H A P. II.

Insurrection of Scotland—alarming to lord Wentworth. He imposes an engagement on the Ulster Scots.—He supplies the king with money and soldiers.—He defeats the attempts of Argyle.—Project of the earl of Antrim,—Disapproved by Wentworth,—Favoured by the king.—Vanity and insincerity of Antrim. Wentworth recalled to England.—Created earl of Strafford, and knight of the Garter.—Returns to Dublin,—Meets a parliament.—Zeal and liberality of the Irish commons. New army levied.—Strafford returns to England.—Sudden change of disposition in the Irish parliament.—Causes of this change.—Remonstrance of the commons against the clergy.—Their new regulation of subsidies. Strafford returns to Ireland.—Preparations for invading Scotland.—Treaty of Rippon. Orders for disbanding the Irish army.—Encreasing spirit of opposition in the Irish parliament.—Injudicious complaints.—Order for the assessment of subsidies—torn from the commons' Journals by the king's command.—REMONSTRANCE of grievances voted hastily by the commons—transmitted to England.—Irish agents in London.—Earl of Strafford impeached.—Death of Wandesford.—The king yields to the Irish agents. Lords justices appointed.—Further compliances of the king.—The Irish agents present the remonstrance to the throne.—Answer of Sir George Ratcliffe.—The agents decline to reply particularly.—New session of the Irish parliament.—Demands of the commons. The protest against the preamble of the first subsidy-bill.—Lords prepare a petition of grievances.—Motion of the Bishop of Meath.—Lords jealous of their privilege.—QUERIES presented by the commons to the upper

upper house for the opinion of the judges.--Transmitted to the parliament of England.--Impeachments in Ireland.--A prorogation.---Act of attainder passed against the earl of Strafford.--Effects of this event on Ireland.--Concessions of the king to the Irish agents.---Their further demands.--Important question arising from the impeachments of the commons--undecided.--Arbitrary proceedings of the commons against the clergy--against the university.--QUERIES resumed.--Answer of the judges unsatisfactory to the commons.--Their decisions on the several queries: They recede from the impeachments.--They oppose the design of sending the disbanded army into foreign service,—suspicious attempt to examine the king's stores.--Return of the Irish agents.

THE commotions of Scotland had by this time grown violent and alarming; and the perplexities of Charles became every day more inextricable^m. His attempts to reform the discipline and worship of the Scottish church had awakened the discontents, and shocked the religious sentiments of a sullen, determined, and intractable people, agitated by the fervour of religious zeal, even to a degree of desperate fanaticism. The introduction of his liturgy had been opposed with rage and execration; tumults, insurrections, formidable combinations, an universal spirit of opposition, at once deliberate and strenuous, could not shake the purpose of the king, nor check the violence of his passion for religious conformity. His proclamation, which attempted to allay the rising commotions, by promises of pardon, and exhortations to submission, was answered by a protestation, encouraged and presented by men

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of power and consequence. The male-contents, with a formidable regularity, assembled at Edinburgh, issued their orders, and framed the famous COVENANT. It was received with enthusiastic rapture, and declared to be equally dear and sacred to the people with their baptismal vow. Their insurrection, supported by able and powerful nobles of their own nation, and secretly fomented by the French minister, evidently threatened some terrible convulsion. The concessions which Charles at length deemed it necessary to propose, only served to discover his weakness, and to animate these stubborn Northerners. They imported arms, they recalled their officers from the continent; they chose a general, and seized the king's forts; while Charles, on his part, advanced to Berwick, and prepared to encounter this desperate commotion.

FROM the beginnings of these disorders, lord Wentworth naturally and justly apprehended that they might soon extend to Ireland; or, to use his own expressions, that “the skirts of the great rain, “if not some part of the thundering and lightening, “might fall on this kingdom.” The Scots settled in the northern counties, generally agreed with those of their original country in religious doctrine and discipline; and though more controuled, were really, no less inveterate enemies to the established mode of church government and worship. Several of them had taken the covenant, and passed secretly into Scotland to share in the glorious cause now so happily advanced: the less active were persuaded that the hour was at handⁿ, when their own discipline should be fully established; and boldly resisted the attempts at this time usually made to reduce them to conformity. They were still further encouraged by those

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from Scotland who traded with the northern counties. These men boasted that they had taken the covenant; they magnified the zeal and spirit of their countrymen; they affected to despise those who could entertain a doubt of their success, or scruple to unite warmly in their cause.

WENTWORTH was justly alarmed. He knew that several of great consequence and high station in Ireland, were favourers of the puritanic cause; he could not be insensible, nor did his friends fail to remind him, that the original natives might be tempted to take some dangerous advantage of the present disorders. His royal master, to whose service he was particularly devoted, was reduced to a perplexed and perilous situation; he therefore determined to act with redoubled vigilance and assiduity.

A NEW engagement was prescribed to the Ulster Scots^p, whereby they promised allegiance to the king, and submission to his commands, with an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenour of this present oath. While this engagement was framing at the council-board, some principal inhabitants of the northern province arrived at Dublin to petition for such a test of their loyalty, and received it with alacrity. It was imposed on all ages, sexes, and conditions; those who refused it were fined and imprisoned, in some cases, with shocking circumstances of barbarity, as the enemies of Wentworth alledged. Charles was so pleased with this precaution, that he imitated it in England.

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No situation of affairs^q demanded greater vigour and circumspection in a chief governour of Ireland ; and no governour could have been more attentive to his immediate department, as well as the general interest of his royal master than lord Wentworth. At the first alarm of the Scottish insurrection, thirty thousand pounds were remitted to the king from the Irish exchequer, to which the deputy added some considerable donations from his private fortune. The Irish army was reviewed, regulated, and strengthened by an augmentation of four hundred cavalry. A body of five hundred men carefully disciplined, and gallantly appointed, were at the king's desire transported into England, under the command of Willoughby, an experienced officer, to form a garrison for Carlisle. Three hundred more were destined to secure the castle of Dunbarton, but prevented by the activity of the covenanters in seizing this important post. The care of those parts of Scotland, which lay contiguous to the province of Ulster, had been entrusted by the male-contents to the earl of Argyle, their powerful and zealous partizan. To alarm him with the fears of an invasion, and at the same time to awe those Ulster Scots, who favoured the cause of their covenanting brethren, the main body of the Irish army was ordered to rendezvous at Carricfergus ; and reports industriously spread that the deputy was speedily to take the command in person. When Argyle, with equal vigilance, had opened a communication with the Scots of Ulster, and sent his emissaries to excite them to take arms, his ships were seized ; a plot to deliver up the castle of Carricfergus to the Scots, was instantly discovered, and the principal agent executed without mercy. The castle was reinforced ; detachments were stationed in every place

place of danger; and magazines provided with arms and ammunition for ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse.

THE king expressed the highest approbation of the conduct of lord Wentworth in his government, and no less satisfaction in the free, candid, and judicious advice he frequently received from him relative to his own conduct. Yet the secret councils by which this unhappy prince was too much influenced, were not without their effect even in Ireland, and created some embarrassment to the chief governor^r. Randal Mac-Donnel, earl of Antrim, was descended from those Scottish islanders who had settled in Ulster, and proved such pestilent insurgents in the reign of Elizabeth. On the submission of his family and their services to government, his father received a large tract of lands in the northern province, was created viscount Dunluce by king James, and by Charles advanced to the dignity of an earl. The young lord was bred in England; and by marrying with the dutchess of Buckingham, dowager to the great favourite, appeared at court with some splendour, and seems to have rendered himself particularly acceptable to the queen. With a very moderate portion of understanding, and fully possessed with the importance of clanship and family power, he was naturally a great undertaker, as the noble historian expresses it, and solicitous that the king should conceive highly of his power and interest in Ireland. He spake magnificently of the strength and attachment of his adherents in the northern province; of these he freely offered to levy and maintain a considerable army at his own expence, and to make a descent upon the Scottish isles, where he had
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also a numerous clan ready to assist him, where he made no doubt of effecting a lasting settlement, so as to give Argyle sufficient employment in his own country, and possibly to hem in the covenanters between an English and an Irish army.

THE project seemed plausible and well conceived; the king determined to send Antrim into Ireland; Antrim^f, flattered by the favourable acceptance of his services, talked openly of his vast designs, and thus warned Argyle to take the necessary precautions against invasion. But Wentworth cautiously weighed the circumstances of Ireland, the character of the undertaker, the nature and consequences of his design. The earl he knew was grandson by the female line to the famous rebel Tirone, connected in alliance and affection with those Irish clans of Ulster, which had formerly expressed, and were still supposed to retain an aversion to English government. Numbers of these could be easily raised, but not so easily paid and maintained; a necessitous rabble of armed followers, without discipline or restraint, might give material interruption to the public peace. At this time, it must prove a dangerous cause of offence, if the king should employ a popish army, commanded by a popish general. To the Scots of Ulster it might afford a plausible pretence of arming to defend themselves from outrage; they might be ready to unite with the covenanters of Scotland, should they defeat their invaders, and pursue them into Ireland. Such considerations had their full weight with lord Wentworth; and to confirm his prejudice against the undertaking, he found on his first conference with Antrim that the earl was totally ignorant of war, and that he had not once attended

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to the commonest provisions and precautions necessary for any military operation. He represented these matters to the king and his ministers; he urged his objections both to the man and his design freely and fully; yet such was the possession which the queen and her partizans had gained of Charles, that he was persuaded repeatedly to direct, and even solicit the lord deputy, that Antrim should be employed. Preparations were even made for his expedition; officers were appointed to assist him; an agent sent to practise with his friends and kinsmen, the Mac-Donalds of the Isles, and a ship freighted with one thousand arms for their use. But it soon appeared that the earl of Antrim had not that extensive following which he boasted, either in Scotland or Ireland; that he himself was not only vain, but insincere; had made a forward tender of services, which he conceived would not be needed or accepted; and was neither able nor disposed to perform his promises.

IN the mean time the king's affairs grew more and more embarrassed. An injudicious and disreputable pacification with the Scots was followed by a disbanding of his army, and an ungracious dismissal of the gentry, who, at their own expence, had attended him in his expedition. The Scots, on the other hand, kept their troops in readiness to re-assemble at the shortest notice; they held a correspondence with some of the English nobility, and were encouraged to proceed in their opposition to the king. They continued to hold their sessions, they protested against the articles of pacification; they retained the forts which they were bound to restore; refused to demolish others agreeably to the treaty; persecuted those who adhered to the king, made
vigorous

vigourous preparations for war, and even solicited the king of France for succours.

CHARLES now found his English dominions evidently threatned with an invasion, from an enemy obstinate and enflamed ; and secretly, if not avowedly, favoured by numbers of his English subjects. A new army was to be raised ; his finances were totally exhausted, his reputation was impaired by his late concessions to the Scots ; and even in his councils he had reason to suspect treachery. In this distressful situation, lord Wentworth was thought too necessary to the king's service to remain in Ireland. He was directed to commit the administration to two lords justices, and to repair to the king^t. He had frequently solicited Charles to justify him against the clamour of his enemies, and to blast their hopes of supplanting him in the royal favour by granting him some new honours. Charles had hitherto denied the request ; but was now more condescending. He confirmed him in his present station, by the more honourable title of lord lieutenant of Ireland, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter.

THE new earl of Strafford was now confessedly the first in confidence with the king, and supposed to be the great director of his measures ; a situation which in the present juncture could not fail to expose him to odium and danger. He had formerly recommended to the king not to exasperate the Scots, as they were his natural though rebellious subjects ; to be careful that hostilities should not begin on his part, but to wait until they should justify his arms, by commencing hostilities in some part of England.

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But now, when concessions were demanded which Charles deemed repugnant to his conscience and his honour, when their hostile intentions were avowed, and a war inevitable, he recommended more vigorous measures, and urged the necessity of firmly repelling, and effectually prosecuting the Scottish insurgents. They were provoked at this zeal, and breathed vengeance against the malignant enemy of their nation.

To raise a new army, money was absolutely necessary^u; and Strafford had the credit of advising his master to recur to the constitutional method of supply, by convening a parliament. The measure was of necessity embraced: but to provide in some sort for the immediate occasions of the king, a loan was solicited from the peers and officers of state, to which Strafford liberally contributed; and the queen, by her agents, obtained considerable sums from the Roman catholics of England. To demonstrate still greater zeal for the royal service, the earl assured the king that no inconsiderable resources might be found in Ireland; he recommended that a new parliament should be immediately summoned in this kingdom; where he was assured of obtaining large supplies: that the bounty of the Irish subjects would prove an useful example and incentive to an English house of commons, and enable the king to raise a gallant army in Ireland. ready to be transported into Scotland at his command, with fairer hopes of success than could possibly be grounded, on the wild and futile project of the earl of Antrim. The scheme was eagerly adopted; and the indefatigable earl arrived at Dublin two days after the parliament had as-

sembled under the justices, lord Dillon and sir Christopher Wandesford, master of the rolls.

THE popish party of Ireland^v, whatever were their grievances and complaints, by no means favoured the cause of the covenanters, and, like their brethren of England, affected the most zealous loyalty and attachment to the king. The puritans were numerous, but not as yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their discontents nor freed from the terrour of an haughty and rigorous administration. Those who by their stations or emoluments were particularly bound to the service of the crown, formed no inconsiderable party in the Irish parliament. The evils that were to avert, the advantages they expected, the fear of power, the consequence assumed from being thought necessary to the king's affairs, all conspired, with some less interested motives, to produce an unusual unanimity in this assembly. Strafford represented the ungrateful return made by the Scots to the clemency of his royal master, in the late pacification, and recommended to them to grant a supply adequate to his occasions. The commons even outran his wishes^w. They granted four entire subsidies, with an elevated encomium on his majesty's goodness in constituting the earl of Strafford lord lieutenant of Ireland, who had endeared himself to this kingdom by an upright administration of justice without partiality; by encreasing the revenue without grievance; by the benefits received or expected from his majesty's commission for remedy of defective titles, procured by his lordship; by the restoration of the church, the regulation of the army; by the vigorous support of law, the due punishment of its contemners,

^v A. D. 1640.

^w Corm. Journ. Ir. A. D. 1640.

contemners, and a benevolent relief and redress of the oppressed and indigent.

THE zeal and affection of the Irish commons were not yet exhausted. The king, in a letter to the two houses, expressed his apprehensions, that, if the Scots did not submit, he should find it necessary to demand two additional subsidies: they declared, with equal unanimity, that they were ready to support his majesty in all his great occasions with their persons and estates, which they prayed their governor to represent to the king, that it might be recorded as an ordinance of parliament, and published as a testimony to the world, that, as the kingdom, had the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they were desirous to be accounted the best of subjects.

THE Irish lords quickly caught the same spirit of loyalty*. At the motion of the earl of Ormond it was resolved to congratulate the commons on their bountiful and chearful grant, to signify the lords' desire to join in their intended declaration, and to appoint a conference for settling some common form to be made the joint-act of both houses. But here the jealousy of privilege intervened. It was the sole right of the commons to grant money; and neither the right nor merit of granting was to be communicated to the upper house. They refused their concurrence in any common form. The lords, however, determined that their zeal and affection should be equally conspicuous. They published a separate declaration of their absolute attachment and devotion to the king, in substance the same with that of the commons.

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THEY proceeded yet further in expressing their detestation of the Scottish disloyalty. Archibald Adair, a native of Scotland, had been tempted to conformity by the prospect of gain, and advanced to the bishopric of Killalla, a station little suited to his puritanic principles. The wretch was not so guarded or confirmed in his hypocrisy, as to suppress his indignation at a clergyman of his own country, who had written with severity against the Covenanters; he reproached him for *his* conduct, and was even provoked to justify *their* conduct, with a warmth and acrimony utterly indecent. The lords determined that no writ of summons should be vouchsafed to an avowed favourer of the covenant. It was even proposed to censure him still farther. But the rigour of administration rendered it unnecessary. The Scottish prelate was seized, fined, and formally deprived.

IN these favourable and affectionate dispositions both of lords and commons, Strafford had nothing more to do, but issue the necessary orders for levying the parliamentary grants, and raising and regulating a new army. The pressing occasions of the king required his immediate return to England. To Wandersford his friend and deputy, the charge of raising the subsidies was committed: the affairs of the army were entrusted chiefly to the earl of Ormond. The new levies were raised with surprising expedition. Ireland afforded numbers of idle and able-bodied men; and the commissioners, appointed for assessing the subsidies, had authority to press them into the service. Cloathing and provisions occasioned some delay; yet before the king's English forces could meet at Berwick, the whole body of eight thousand
foot

foot and one thousand horse appeared at Carricfergus, their destined place of rendezvous, in gallant order and condition. Their officers were protestants, together with one thousand of the private men, who had been drafted from the old army; all the rest were of necessity Roman catholics, a circumstance sufficient to raise a violent clamour against the king and Strafford, who armed legions of popish ruffians, to glut their malice with the blood of the godly.

BUT, to the astonishment of those who had seen the late loyal dispositions of the Irish commons, who had relied on the liberality of their grants, and the zeal of their professions, the subsidies, by which this army was to be supported, were reluctantly and scantily supplied. A new spirit seemed to have suddenly actuated the subjects of Ireland. They who had but just now devoted their lives and possessions to the service of the *best of kings*, grew cold, suspicious, and querulous; they complained of the grievous weight of those four subsidies, which they had declared was but the earnest of their beneficence; they objected to the rates of assessment, the same which had been used in the late parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money until a new manner of taxation should be settled by the present parliament, or, in other words, until they should utterly annul and rescind the late money-bill, enacted with such remarkable zeal and unanimity.

TO account for this sudden change of sentiment and disposition, it is to be observed, that Charles had by this time convened his English parliament, experienced

experienced their aversion to supply his necessities, and suddenly dissolved them. The Irish subjects found that an attachment to the king was unfashionable and unpopular in England; that favour and applause attended those who were most violent and spirited in opposing his measures; and a passion for imitating the people of England has been ever known to have considerable influence on their politics. The puritan party, which every day grew more and more powerful and confident, held a freer correspondence with their brethren of Ireland, and laboured to attach them to the common cause. The vigilant chief governour was absent; and, to encrease the confidence of his secret enemies in Ireland, reports were industriously spread of his dangerous sickness, and his death. Popish agents were assiduous in encouraging their party to seize the favourable opportunity of forcing some attention and indulgence to their claims, civil and religious. Puritans and recusants alike, freed from the restraint of that administration which had kept both in awe, and encouraged by those disorders which had already grown formidable in Britain, and threatened to flame out with still greater violence, formed a determined and regular scheme of opposition.

SUCH was the temper of the Irish parliament on their second meeting. The principal lords and officers of state were, many of them, puritanically disposed. In the old mode of voluntary contribution, they had contrived to shift the public burden on their inferiours; but in the assessment of the parliamentary grants, they had been rated in proportion to their superiour fortunes: and therefore, in the midst of all their affected solicitude for the king's service, were really enemies to the new taxation. Several
absented

absented themselves from parliament, on whose services the crown relied. Those military members, who were destined to keep the balance between the popish and puritan parties, were now necessarily at their respective posts. These parties, therefore, had full liberty to exert themselves, and by forming a kind of union of political sentiments and dispositions, bore down irresistibly upon a feeble government.

SEVERAL conciliating and popular bills had been transmitted^z, and recommended from the throne : among others readily accepted, one was enacted for conformation of letters patent granted on any commissions of grace for remedy of defective titles; an act much magnified, and said to be worth many millions to the subject. But the commons were not to be allured from their present favourite object. Grievances had been the popular topic in the English legislature; and the clamour of grievances was faithfully echoed in Ireland. The Irish commons had as yet no leisure to examine into those several particulars, in which the regular course of law had been interrupted, and the nation governed with an arbitrary sway. They fixed at once upon a grievance of an inferiour nature, but such as was striking and obvious, and equally offensive to each of the prevailing parties^a. They inveighed against the conduct of the ecclesiastical courts, their fees, their commutation-money, the demands of the established clergy for christenings, marriages, herse-cloaths, mortuaries, and other claims introduced in times of popery, and as yet not sufficiently regulated and reformed. They presented a bold remonstrance to the lord deputy Wandesford on this subject; and they were too formidable,

^z Carte.

^a Comm. Journ. 1640.

formidable, and their demands in general too reasonable, to meet with any discouragement.

BUT their attack was not confined to the income of the clergy. A committee was appointed to consider of the manner in which the subsidies should be assessed. On their reports, a declaration was drawn up, against any ascertaining of subsidies, condemning the instruction issued by the deputy and council for raising the first subsidy, expressing their apprehensions, lest these instructions should be deemed the continuance of a precedent established in a former parliament, and protesting that neither this precedent, nor the late instructions should be regarded as a direction or warrant for any future assessments. In compliment to the deputy, and regard to the king's weighty occasions, they indeed appoint the first subsidy to be levied agreeably to the instructions, but declare that the three others, and all future subsidies, shall be raised in what they call a moderate and parliamentary way. The declaration was ordered to be entered among the ordinances of their house, and copies furnished to all who should desire them. They even had the courage to demand, and the success to prevail on Wandesford, to direct that it should be enrolled in the council-books, the court of chancery, the offices of the auditor-general, and of the chief remembrancer.

IN this zeal for reformation, they forgot their own privileges, and the solicitude they had lately expressed for preserving them^b. They became suitors to the lords to unite in their favourite declaration, and to enter it as an ordinance of their house. But the lords were now fearful of the least interference
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in matters relative to the granting money. They consulted the judges: the judges declared, that an ordinance of the commons respecting the assessment of subsidies, could not of right be entered in their journals. The answer, therefore, to the commons, was, that they had taken time until the next session to consider whether their declaration should be entered in the journals of the upper house, or not.

BUT while the commons affected all this regard for the ease of the subjects, this patriotic opposition to exorbitant and oppressive grants (nor can it be denied that they were exorbitant and oppressive, when we are assured that one year's assessment on the earl of Cork amounted to three thousand six hundred pounds) they at the same time felt considerable embarrassment from recollection of their former zealous concessions and declarations: nor could the partizans of government fail to urge them with the shame of inconsistency, a charge so obvious, and at the same time so mortifying^c. To efface this reproach, and "to the end," as they expressed it, "that no ill-affected persons, in envy to their loyal and chearful proceedings to his majesty, might spread any false rumours, as though they had not a continued resolution to further his majesty's service," they entered a second ordinance in their journals, whereby they declared to the world, that "by nothing contained in their late declaration, it was intended to vary from any of their former chearful expressions used in the beginning of the parliament, for the furtherance of his majesty's service against the present distemper in Scotland."

SUCH formal professions of attachment were but

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a weak apology for whatever seemed exceptionable in their conduct. They shewed that the Irish parliament had studied the example of those in England, and learned to convey the most determined opposition in terms of apparent duty and loyalty. Strafford was the only man likely to check this rising spirit. It was resolved that he should immediately reassume the reins of Irish government. He was made captain-general of all the Irish forces, with power to lead them into Scotland^d. He transmitted the orders necessary for this expedition; he directed the earl of Ormond to repair to Carricfergus, and to put himself at the head of the forces; preparations were made for his own voyage; when, on the illness of the earl of Northumberland, Charles found it necessary to detain him in England, in order to lead his army against the Scots, as his lieutenant-general. Strafford, who sincerely studied the honour and interest of his master, was solicitous for employing the Irish army; and even when the Scots had seized Newcastle, wished to transport it into Cumberland, so as to cut off their communication with their own country. But as these insurgents had particularly excepted against him, he deemed it imprudent to encrease their rancour, by proposing this measure directly to the king. The unhappy Charles adopted other counsels, and other measures. The treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded in London, was followed by a cessation of arms, highly acceptable to those who favoured the Scots, and avowed their dissatisfaction at marching to fight for prelacy. They who petitioned for this cessation, and for summoning a new parliament, at the same time expressed their abhorrence and apprehensions of the popish army raised in Ireland. Orders were transmitted for
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disbanding it; but these orders could not be immediately executed. Money was wanting to discharge the arrears of the soldiers.

IN the mean time the commons of Ireland in their succeeding session, assembled with passions still more violent and undisguised, and with a more settled and systematic scheme of opposition. The puritans, encouraged secretly by their friends in England, and animated by the example of the Scots, the recusants, smarting with the remembrance of their mortifications, and grievances real or pretended, those who had experienced the severity of the administration of Strafford, who were impatient to revive the pomp of popery, or to establish the rueful simplicity of the presbyterian model, who had adopted the present popular sentiments of civil liberty, or been infected by the contagion of factious turbulence, all united in the scheme of opposition to the king; and had all imbibed the fashionable inveteracy against their chief governour.

THEY began with complaints against those very acts which he had procured for reforming and civilizing the nation. Such were the laws which enjoined the general use of English apparel, which forbade ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the straw, or tearing wool from living sheep. The lords were prevailed on to concur in a representation of the accidental grievances attending the execution of such statutes. And so little were the most obvious principles of liberty regarded, in the violence of faction, that the deputy was moved to exercise a dispensing power, and to suspend the penalties annexed to these laws.

THE commons, who every day grew more confident, in their own strength, proceeded to explain distinctly their declaration of the former session, relative to the assessment of subsidies. They resolved that no subject should be taxed for more than a tenth part of his estate, real or personal; which they called a moderate, parliamentary, easy and equal rate. This resolution they entered as the order of the house, and the rule by which the three subsequent subsidies should be assessed. "Shame," saith Mr. Carte, "is a great restraint from ills of a scandalous kind; but it affects only particular persons: it never enters into bodies of men." The sentiment is refuted by the conduct of this house of commons. They still retained a painful recollection of their former professions of loyalty. They knew that by their present resolution, three of the subsidies were reduced to a sum scarcely worth collecting; and amidst all their present violence, not yet divested of shame, they affected a serious attention to the king's manifold and urgent occasions; and as it might conduce to the advancement of his service to hasten the payment of the third subsidy, they ordered that it should be paid together with the second, on the first day of December, 1640, six months earlier than it had been made payable by the original grant. But such ridiculous affectation served only to provoke, instead of reconciling the king to an unprecedented order, made only by the commons, revoking their own grant, in opposition to a statute enacted by the whole legislature, and a legislature still in being. With a peevish impatience at this insolent procedure, he ordered the leaf in which their resolution was inserted, to be torn from their Journals.

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THE Commons were not to be intimidated by this ungracious and irregular exertion of royal power. They had friends, and partizans in England, who observed their dispositions with pleasure, and cherished that spirit which promised to advance their own present purposes. The ruin of the earl of Strafford was the favourite object of the popular party. He was already accused; measures were concerted for supporting the accusation; Ireland was the scene where this obnoxious nobleman had been principally distinguished; his prosecutors therefore naturally looked to this kingdom. Here they found a numerous party ready to second their designs, and eager to receive their instructions for this purpose. A remonstrance of grievances sustained by the Irish subjects during the administration of the earl, was hastily prepared, and presented to the house of commons^f. It began with an acknowledgment, that since the happy subjection of the kingdom to the imperial crown of England, it had been the princely care of his majesty and his noble progenitors, that their dutiful people of the land of Ireland, being now for the most part descended of British ancestors, should be governed according to the laws of England; that the statute of Magna Charta, and other laudable statutes, were by several Irish parliaments enacted and declared, whereby the kingdom hath, until of late, grown to a flourishing state, and been enabled to comply with his majesty's occasions, by repeated benevolences and subsidies. The late grievances were enumerated, by which the kingdom was said to be reduced to extreme and universal poverty.—The general decay of trade, occasioned by a new and illegal raising the book of rates and impositions.—The arbitrary

^f Com. Journ. vol. I. p. 179.

bitrary decisions of causes and controversies by paper petitions before the chief governour, and the proceedings in civil causes at the council board, contrary to the law and great charter.—The denial of the princely graces, and statute of limitations granted by his majesty, together with the extrajudicial avoiding of letters patent of estates, by private opinions delivered at the council board, contrary to law, and without precedent or example.—The unusual and unlawful encrease of monopolies, especially of tobacco.—The extreme and cruel usage of the inhabitants and tenants of the plantation of London-Derry.—The erection and proceedings of the court of high commission for causes ecclesiastical; and the exorbitant fees and customs exacted by the clergy.—The misapplication of the revenue.—The restraint laid on men of quality and estates from repairing to England without licence of the chief governour.—Quo warrantos issued against boroughs.—The unconstitutional influence of certain ministers of state, by which the parliament was deprived of its natural freedom.—Exorbitant fees taken in courts of justice.—Extreme pressures laid on merchants and other subjects, to the enriching of farmers of customs, waiters, searchers, pursuivants, gaolers, and sundry others.

HAD the several articles of this remonstrance received a distinct and temperate discussion, many might have proved groundless or vague, and many by no means chargeable to the chief governour, at whom they were pointed. But the proceeding on this occasion discovered more of zeal than candour. It was presented abruptly to the house, required to be twice read; no objection was admitted; no mem-
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ber allowed to speak to it; no question was put upon the separate articles; but all the several particulars collected into one question, and all voted to be grievances, in the midst of tumult and disorder. The remonstrance concluded with a petition to the lord deputy, that if he should not think fit to afford relief, he would admit a select committee of the commons to repair to the king in England, in order to obtain fitting remedies for their just grievances and oppressions. Before an answer could be obtained, the commons proceeded to nominate this committee^h. Wandesford, the lord deputy, was perplexed and intimidated: he made a faint attempt to evade an answer to their remonstrance, by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords on the articles contained in it. The commons had already experienced the temper of the upper house, which had originally refused to concur with them in their application; they rejected the overture with disdain; and while their committee, composed of virulent papists and rigid puritans, prepared to embark secretly for England, and their agents John Bellew and Oliver Cashel, were on their way to London, the deputy was left to the usual method of prorogation, to give some check to the spirit of the Irish commons.

IN the mean time, the Irish committee were received in London with particular favour by the popular party, who expected considerable assistance from them, in the great design now in agitation, that of the destruction of the earl of Straffordⁱ. Their public instructions were to address themselves to the king; but they seem to have been privately directed to apply to a power greater than the king's, that of
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^h Com. Journ. vol. I. 287.

ⁱ Carte.

the English house of commons. To prepare the way for their favourable reception, Mr. Pym, with the assistance of Sir John Clotworthy, a gentleman of Ireland, whose attachment to the popular party, and enmity to the earl of Strafford, had gained him a seat in the English parliament, obtained a committee to take into consideration the grievances of Ireland. To this committee the agents readily communicated their remonstrance, which, with a petition from several of the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Irish parliament, was presented to the house.

THUS was the first alarm of danger conveyed to the earl of Strafford. Contrary to his own sentiments, and the urgent admonitions of his friends, he fatally relied on the king's promise of protection, he repaired to London, and resigned himself to the power of an incensed parliament. To deprive him of the services of an able and faithful friend, whose evidence must have proved essentially favourable to his cause, Sir George Ratcliffe was accused of high treason, and conveyed a prisoner from Ireland. The earl himself was impeached, sequestered from parliament and committed to custody. His numerous enemies of the three kingdoms were raised to the utmost pitch of exultation, and waited with impatience the event of this bold and well concerted attack.

THE sudden death of Wandesford, lord deputy of Ireland, is imputed to the violent impression on his mind, made by the prosecution of Strafford, and the vexations of his government^k. It was an event attended with momentous consequences to this kingdom;

dom: for the present, it afforded the Irish committee, resident in London, a fair occasion of proving and displaying their power. Soon after the prorogation of the Irish parliament, they were joined by some lords of Ireland, not delegated by the upper house, but by a number of the Irish nobility, most unfriendly to Strafford, and directed to unite with the agents of the commons, in representing the grievances of the nation. The popular leaders in the English parliament were not scrupulous to examine the validity of their commission. They received them with open arms; and industriously affected the utmost deference and attention to the delegates of both houses of the Irish legislature, who came to explain the injuries of their nation, and to prove the iniquity of their chief governour. Such was the consequence they had gained, that the king himself deemed it necessary to court them, and laboured to soften their resentments against his favourite by some incautious condescensions.

THE appointment of a successor to Wandesford became an immediate object of deliberation ¹. The earl of Strafford, who knew the circumstances of Ireland, and sincerely studied the interests of the king, recommended with particular earnestness that the earl of Ormond should be nominated lord deputy; a nobleman of vigour and abilities, of powerful connections, zealous in the royal cause, an enemy both to the Romish and puritan factions, and already successful in opposing the violences of both. But the Irish committee, in the fulness of pride and power, had the hardiness to remonstrate against this nomination, and by the assistance of the earl of Arundel, (who claimed some lands of which Ormond was

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¹ Ibid.

possessed, and hence became his mortal enemy) were so successful, that the king relinquished the design of employing the earl of Ormond, and declared his resolution of committing the Irish government to two lords justices, equally chosen for the contending parties, lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west, a nobleman of approved affection to the royal service, and Sir William Parsons, distinguished for his attachment to the popular and puritanic faction.

BUT the Irish committee were too well instructed, and had imbibed the spirit of the times too deeply, not to take advantage of this condescension, and to press the king with new demands. They proceeded to remonstrate against lord Dillon as a person unfit to be entrusted with the administration of Irish government. Charles listened to their frivolous objections. With an impatience to be relieved from a contest of an inferior nature, and which interrupted his attention to matters more urgent and important, he revoked the nomination of lord Dillon, and abandoned the government of Ireland to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two puritan lords justices without abilities or character, and full fraught with that party virulence which is readily imbibed by men of mean understandings and illiberal principles.

IN proportion to the king's concessions, the committee rose in their demands: and Charles having already stooped to such extraordinary condescensions, felt less reluctance in granting their additional requests. He consented to send orders to Ireland, that they should not be prosecuted for departing without licence; that the leaf which had been torn from
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the Journals of the Irish commons should be replaced; that the subsidies should be assessed in the manner prescribed by their house; that all the king's correspondence with his ministers of Ireland should be entered in the signet office, open to be inspected or copied, by every subject; and that all those, who complained of any order or decree, should have copies of records, certificates, orders of council, public letters, or other entries necessary for declaration of their grievances.

HAVING thus far experienced the compliance of the king, they at length presented their remonstrance in due form^m. An answer prepared by Sir George Ratcliffe, was soon after read in council; and a copy delivered to the committee. They were alarmed; they protested against the king's consulting on their affairs either with the earl of Strafford, Ratcliffe, or Sir Philip Mainwaring, another of his zealous friends. They were called to make their reply; the discussion of particulars was difficult and hazardous; they agreed to entrench themselves in a general declaration of the sense of the Irish house of commons, concerning the grievances alledged. It was prepared: Strafford, on his part, solicited a commission of enquiry into every particular of their remonstrance, severally and distinctly: the committee were not without their apprehensions of such a discussion; they declined presenting their declaration to the king.

THE Irish parliament in the mean time again assembled, and with spirits still more elevated. That formidable power which the ruling party in the English legislature had acquired by firmness and

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perseverance,

perseverance, that applause and popularity which attended their proceedings, the embarrassment of the king's affairs, the weakness and dejection of his party, the attention shewn to the Irish committee, and the surprising success of their applications to the throne, were all powerful incentives to the Irish houses, to exert themselves vigourously on an occasion so favourable to the popular interest. Not contented with demanding a redress of former grievances, they aspired, in imitation of their neighbours, to new privileges, new advantages and securities. Having provided for the support of their agents in London, by a public assessment, they proceeded to instruct them to apply to the throne for new laws and regulations, calculated to encrease their own power no less than to advance the public interest. Among other particulars, they were directed to move his majesty for a bill for the further explanation of Poynings' law, in such parts as had occasioned any doubts of the manner of certifying bills into England, or any other matter concerning the further explanation of the law, which they shall think fit: and, that the house of commons, during the parliament, may draw up bills by their own committee, and transmit them.

IN all their endeavours for reformation, it was their purpose (and it was a purpose particularly acceptable to their friends in England) to represent the earl of Strafford as the great author of all national grievancesⁿ. But in the preamble to the bill of subsidies in their first session, a magnificent encomium had been bestowed on this chief governor and his administration. It was the united and unanimous declaration of both houses, attended with expressions

pressions of uncommon satisfaction and attachment. The transaction was too remarkable and too recent to be forgotten. To evade its force, and obviate the difficulty it might create to the prosecutors of this earl, they now inveighed against the secret contrivers of this clause; they enquired, with an affected wonder and indignation, into the authors of it; they drew up a protestation to be transmitted to their committee, in which they declared that, it had been surreptitiously inserted in their bill, either by the earl of Strafford or his agents; that, constrained by representations of the king's necessities, they had not opposed the fraud, lest his majesty should suffer by a rejection of the bill thus sophisticated; that the matter of this preamble was entirely false; and that the nation had really been oppressed and impoverished by the administration of the earl. The committee were directed to petition his majesty for a bill to erase this preamble from their records; and that neither the earl nor his ministers or advisers might have any share in conducting the affairs of Ireland. The upper house were prevailed on to join in this protestation, notwithstanding the opposition of Ormond, Digby, and other zealous royalists.

THE lords had by this time caught the spirit of the other house, and adopted all the sentiments and passions of the popular party^e. They nominated the peers, already resident in London, a committee of their house, for the purpose of conveying their grievances to the throne, adding another of their body to the number. A catalogue of those grievances was prepared and presented to the lords. It consisted of eighteen articles; wherein they complained that

that the nobility were over-rated in the subsidies, some of them detained in prison, though not impeached of any capital offence, and none allowed to be absent from the house, without leaving a proxy with some lord of the chief governour's nomination; that noblemen voted in their house in consequence of new titles of honour, without possessing any lands or property in the kingdom; that they could not, without special licence, repair to England, to present their petitions to the throne. In other articles they echoed the remonstrance of the commons; such were their complaints of the grievous discouragement of trade by heavy impositions, of monopolies, of the decision of civil causes and vacating letters patent by extrajudicial opinions, at the council board; the benefits of the act of limitation denied to the subjects, the unconstitutional influence of ministers in parliament. Others were added in the form of petitions to the throne, that fundry of the graces, granted in the fourth year of the king's reign, might pass into acts of parliament; that a general pardon might be granted, unincumbered by captious provisoes; and that the nobility of the kingdom might be preferred, in all promotions to offices of trust and honour.

THESE several articles engaged the peers in a long and accurate discussion; nor was it without considerable opposition that they at length received the sanction of their house P. At a time when the popular clamour was so violent against prelacy; and that there was a general inclination, and even a concerted design to deprive bishops of the right of suffrage in parliament, a bishop of Meath was so incautious as to move, that in the resolution of these
grievances

grievances the name of the lords spiritual might be omitted, as they had unanimously declared against it. In England the proposition would possibly have been received with eagerness and applause. In Ireland, the enemies of the hierarchy were not so powerful or inveterate. The judges declared that the act of the majority must be considered as the act of all the orders which composed the house of peers. The motion was rejected without any consequences; and the representation of grievances transmitted in due form to the lords of the committee, to be by them presented to the throne.

THEY had soon occasion to enlarge their instructions^P. The English commons were now considered as the centre of authority and power. Not only national grievances, but those of private persons, were referred to their tribunal; and from Ireland particularly, numbers of petitioners beset their house, praying relief against the decisions of the king's courts. One of these appellants complained of a sentence given in favour of a bishop of Ardagh, with whom he had a suit. The commons, not displeased to mortify a prelate, summoned the bishop to appear before them. He applied to the Irish house of lords for direction; the lords resented the infringement of their privileges; Lenthall, the English speaker, was informed that they did not think it fit to licence the bishop's departure into England, and "that they were confident that the
"house of commons in England would not pro-
"ceed to any determination of a cause in which a
"member of their house was concerned, but rather
"remit the same to the parliament of Ireland." Not contented with opposing the attempt of the
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English commons in this particular instance, the lords resolved, that “ being informed that some
 “ members and attendants of their house have been
 “ summoned to appear in the parliament of Eng-
 “ land, and before committees of the house of com-
 “ mons, upon private men’s suits, and their estates
 “ also there questioned; and having duly considered
 “ thereof, and the evil consequences which may
 “ arise thereby—the committee of the house now
 “ attending the king be ordered to represent the
 “ same to his majesty, and become humble suitors
 “ unto him for preventing the like hereafter.”

THE commons, at the same time were engaged with still greater warmth on objects more important than their own privileges. The time was favourable to reformation; and every attempt to establish the rights of subjects, was received with popular applause. They critically examined into various instances of illegal practices, during the administration of the earl of Strafford, and severely censured every deviation from the exact line of constitutional liberty, to which he had been encouraged by the practice of former governours, or hurried by his own passions. To condemn them with the greater solemnity, the house formed a number of questions to be considered and decided by the judges, relative to the power and authority of the chief governour and privy council, in hearing and determining civil causes, the legality of monopolies, and of the punishments inflicted on those who infringed them; the legal force of proclamations, or acts of state; the execution of martial law in time of peace; the jurisdiction of the exchequer, castle chamber, and other courts; the collation and powers of deans and other dignitaries, the

the censures and severe punishments of jurors ; the legality of quo warranto, and other articles of grievance.

THEIR questions were presented to the upper house, with the following spirited declaration. “ In-
“ asmuch as the subjects of this kingdom are free,
“ loyal, and dutiful subjects to his most excellent
“ majesty, their natural liege lord and king, and to
“ be governed only by the common laws of Eng-
“ land and statutes in force in this kingdom, in the
“ same manner and form as his majesty’s subjects
“ of the kingdom of England are, and ought to be
“ governed by the same common laws and statutes
“ of force in that kingdom, which of right the
“ subjects of this kingdom do challenge, and make
“ their protestation to be their birth-right and best
“ inheritance ; yet inasmuch as the unlawful actions
“ and proceedings of some of his majesty’s officers
“ and ministers of justice, of late years introduced
“ and practised in this kingdom, did tend to the in-
“ fringing and violation of the laws, liberties and
“ freedom of the said subjects of this kingdom,
“ contrary to his majesty’s royal and pious intenti-
“ ons ; therefore the knights, citizens, and burgef-
“ ses in parliament assembled, not for any doubt
“ or ambiguity which may be conceived or thought
“ of, for, or concerning the premisses, nor of the
“ ensuing questions, but for manifestation and de-
“ claration of a clear truth, and of the said laws
“ and statutes already planted, and for many ages
“ past settled in this kingdom, the said knights, ci-
“ tizens, and burgeffes do therefore pray that the
“ house of lords may be pleased to command the
“ judges of this kingdom, forthwith to declare in
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“ writing their resolutions of, and unto the ensuing
 “ questions, and subscribe the same.”

ALTHOUGH the lords were moved, and consented to add one question more to those of the commons, yet they discovered no great alacrity in referring them to the judges. The earl of Ormond in particular was zealous for prerogative, attached to lord Strafford, and alarmed at the violence of the commons. He took advantage of a matter of privilege, in dispute between the houses, to suspend the consideration of the queries. The judges desired time to consider them; he urged the propriety of their request. He prevailed on the lords to resolve, that the judges should not be compelled to answer such of the queries as concerned his majesty's prerogative, or were contrary to their oath of Office; and that they should have time till Easter-term to give answer to the rest. The commons, who looked for a speedy prorogation, were impatient, and offended at this coldness of the lords. Instead of being embarrassed at their affected delay, they seized the advantage of it to add to the odium of the earl of Strafford. They transmitted the queries to their committee in England, directing them to be presented with all convenient speed to the parliament of England, and praying that they should make a declaration of the law in the several particulars contained in these queries^f.

THE Irish committee was flattered and caressed, by the popular leaders, as useful agents in their prosecution of lord Strafford, and a necessary channel for conveying their instructions to his enemies of the Irish legislature. This body had adopted the passions of the English house, and seemed to glory in imitating their procedure.

procedure. Whether in the ferment of their own zeal, or in compliance with instructions received from England, the commons proceeded to an impeachment of Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, doctor Bramhal bishop of Derry, Sir Gerrard Lowther chief justice of the common pleas, and Sir George Radcliffe, men of known attachment to the earl of Strafford; the last already accused by the commons of England, and rendered incapable of giving evidence in favour of his friend. To reduce the others to a like incapacity, the charge of high treason was prosecuted against them with the utmost vigour^t. Audley Mervyn, an active puritan, appeared at the bar of the upper house; and with an harangue of tedious pomp and futility, introduced the articles of high treason prepared by the commons. They charged Bolton, Bramhal, Lowther, and Radcliffe, with traiterously contriving and exercising an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and assistance of Thomas earl of Strafford; assuming a regal power over the properties, persons, and liberties of the subjects, pronouncing unjust decrees, and extrajudicial opinions, and illegally and traiterously ruining his majesty's liege people by infamous and cruel punishments; and lastly, with subverting the rights of parliament, and the antient course of parliamentary proceedings. They prayed that all might be obliged to answer to the charges, and that those now in the upper house might be sequestered from their places of judicature, and from the council board, and committed to close custody.

A VAGUE and general charge, however conformable to the proceedings in England against the earl of Strafford, was not universally well received in the

house of lords^u. A variety of questions and points of difficulty were suggested, little suited to the impetuosity of the commons and their friends. Whether the speaker of the lords could be sequestered and committed without a dissolution of their house; whether he or the other persons impeached might be admitted to bail; whether it were sufficient that the house be answerable for their speaker, as no particular charge had as yet been exhibited; whether the lord chancellor could be committed while the seals were in his custody? Such were the questions long and violently agitated in the lords. The commons were impatient, and even clamorous, for a full compliance with their demand. It was at length resolved, that Bramhal and Lowther should be confined; and that the lords justices should be informed that the house held it also meet that the chancellor should be committed to custody, and therefore requested that their lordships might appoint some other person for their speaker. They were answered, that the chancellor and chief justice were at this time peculiarly necessary at the council board, and that the lords justices wished the house would entrust them with the disposal of these persons; that their desire of a new speaker should be transmitted to the king, and that they desired a message from the house to bail the parties accused, if their lordships saw cause. The lords complied; and the contest between the houses was for the present suspended by a prorogation.

BUT the discontented party soon enjoyed a consummate triumph, in the trial of the earl of Strafford, and the act of attainder passed against this unhappy lord. This important transaction is too well known to

to need any new detail; especially as the most obnoxious particulars of his Irish administration have been already pointed out. Instead of discussing the several articles of accusation which his Irish enemies supplied, in which the malice of his prosecutors was sometimes too conspicuous, but in which the most candid and indulgent must discover his pride, insolence, and tyranny, it seems more pertinent to the present design to trace the effects of this great event on Ireland.

To have been discountenanced, displaced, or treated with any severity by the earl of Strafford, was now considered as the highest merit, and most effectual recommendation to honours and employments^w. Sir Piers Crosby, his accuser, was restored to his place in council. Archibald Adair, the wretched Scottish prelate, who had been deprived of the see of Killalla for his declarations in favour of the covenant, was recommended by a puritanic government to the bishopric of Waterford. The lords justices cautiously declined to hear any suits, or to decide any causes in council; terrified by the remonstrances against paper petitions, as they were called. The high commission, and the presidential courts of Munster and Connaught, were afraid to exercise their wonted jurisdiction. The judges in the law courts were terrified; and a scrupulous adherence to the exact line of law and constitutional liberty, had a different effect in Ireland from what might be expected from the theory of politics: here it served to render the administration contemptible to a people who had been used to a government of rigour and severity.

SOME particular members in both houses of the
Irish

Irish parliament had already entertained deep and dangerous designs, not yet discovered, nor perhaps sufficiently matured. But the coalition of puritan and popish partizans was made for no other purpose, nor can their party be suspected of any other design, but that of seizing the advantage of the confusions in England, the fall of Strafford and the embarrassments of the crown, to aggrandize their own power, and to extort some concessions from the king, favourable to their interests. Every step towards the ruin of lord Strafford encreased the confidence of the Irish committees still resident in London. They repeatedly solicited the king to grant an answer to the remonstrances of the Irish parliament, and to redress the grievances which had been conveyed to the throne. Charles, in his humiliation, at length consented that they should be considered in the privy council; and to most of the articles gave a favourable answer. He consented that the assessment of the nobility should be moderated; he agreed to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament; to deprive those peers of their votes who should not purchase estates in Ireland within a limited time; to allow all Irish subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without restraint; to prohibit the chief governours and council from deciding property, or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to suspend the high commission court; to refer the demands of the clergy to the Irish council, in order to frame an act for an equitable regulation of their claims and courts. In like manner he consented that the GRACES should be considered by the lords justices and council, and a bill prepared for the establishment of such as appeared most conducive to the interests of the kingdom. Such condescension did he discover to their passions, that he even

even promised to pass an act for repeal of the preamble in the bill of subsidies, relative to lord Strafford. He agreed to reform the abuses of *quo warrantos*, and to restrain the execution of martial law. In these, and some other less material articles, his council recommended a compliance. A few points of their petition were rejected; and in particular he refused to consent, that any part of the law of Poyning's should be repealed.

BUT his concessions were not satisfactory to the committee. Instead of depending on the royal favour, they demanded the security of a legal and formal declaration of the rights they claimed; the powers which Charles promised not to exercise, they required to be utterly annulled; and with respect to Poyning's law, they contended that this law did not preclude the two houses of parliament from concurring with the council in preparing and transmitting bills. Replies, explanations, dispatches sent to Ireland, and answers from the council of this kingdom, were attended with inconvenient delay. The time to which the Irish parliament had been prorogued was already elapsed, before the king's order for a further prorogation had been received. It was necessary, by a short bill, to declare the legal continuance of this assembly, and to render their proceedings valid; and for this purpose the king's letter was transmitted. It was equally necessary by some act of favour to conciliate the Irish houses, and to allay that violence which they had discovered in the former session. Without waiting the proceedings of the Irish committee, Charles addressed a letter to the lords justices, declaring his pleasure that the Irish subjects should enjoy the benefit of all his GRACES, and directing that bills should be transmitted for

for establishing some more material articles, especially for securing their estates, for limiting the crown's title to sixty years, for annulling all proceedings against the proprietors of Connaught, which had been attended with popular odium and clamour, and for securing the estates of this province from all claims of the crown.

FORMAL thanks were returned to the throne: but in expressing these thanks, both lords and commons shewed that they were still firm and determined. They prayed that ALL the GRACES should be established by law; and that the present parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved, until laws were prepared for the establishment of all, and the redress of every grievance. And the proceedings of parliament corresponded with this beginning. The impeachments of the last session had produced a question of such importance as justified the vehemence expressed on that occasion. The chancellor, in answering the charge against him, had insinuated a doubt, whether, since the enacting of Poynings' law, the house of lords had power of judicature in capital cases^x. The suggestion was received not without resentment and indignation; and among the first proceedings of the present session, we find both houses joining in a solemn protestation, that the court of parliament ever was and is the supreme judicatory of the realm, and always had and ought to have full authority to determine in cases of treason and other offences. This protestation they communicated to the king: but by presenting it also to the English house of lords, they appealed to a tribunal not so favourable as they expected. The question was seriously debated both in that house and in the English

^x Journal of the House of Lords. Carte.

English council, and the king persuaded to suspend the acts of grace and favour to his Irish subjects, until this weighty point should be determined. The subsequent disorders in both kingdoms seem to have prevented the formal determination.

THE Irish house of commons, in the mean time, acted with that violent spirit of reformation, which the example of their neighbours had inspired. By a solemn declaration they asserted their antient right of repairing at all times to his majesty, by their agents, without the intervention of a chief governour. The proclamations for regulating linen yarn, however judiciously devised for improving this manufacture, were yet the acts of lord Strafford's government, and were now declared grievances by the house. The high commission court they pronounced a great and universal grievance, tending to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Not satisfied with the restraints of martial law prescribed by the king, they resolved to limit the execution of it, even in times of war and rebellion. Every questionable demand of the clergy was at once pronounced a grievance, and this, with such severity, that their maintenance was rendered precarious; so that the house was afterwards obliged to qualify the rigour of their former resolutions.

AN assembly which scorned the limits of its own constitutional privileges, which assumed a power of deciding property, and controuling the courts of law, found a convenient object of arbitrary power in the established clergy, a body equally obnoxious to the popish and puritanic leaders. A furious zeal for particular modes and systems, had in these days the

same effect which hath since been experienced from a profligate indifference to religion. Not contented with rescinding decrees made in favour of the clergy, and involving particulars of this order in vexatious difficulties, the house proceeded to strike at the very vitals of the religious establishment, by harrassing the university. The regulations established in this seminary by archbishop Laud, excluded non-conformists of every kind from its advantages and preferments. The house examined them with severity; discovered dangers never experienced, and suggested objections which time hath abundantly confuted. So earnest were the prevailing factions to condemn the late statutes, that the committee of the commons appointed to inspect the college, accepted the grossest misinformation and disgraced their report by palpable falsehoods. From a clause in one statute not rightly understood, they were persuaded that every member of the college was prevented from divulging the grievances or misgovernment of the society to any but the governours, under pain of expulsion. They exclaimed against the supposed prohibition as 'an infamous contrivance to conceal and suppress the truth: and it was voted null and void. They accused the late provost, by this time advanced to the bishoprics of Cork and Rois, of clandestinely accepting the new body of statutes, with the concurrence of two members only of the body; a fact evidently false, and easy to be disproved: his government, his procuring the new charter, his acceptance of the new regulations, were voted subversive of the antient foundation, and a grievous discouragement to natives of the kingdom, before this charter was inspected, or these regulations weighed. They proceeded to a frivolous impeachment of the bishop in the house of lords, and soon found it impossible to
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be supported. In the plenitude of their power they forbade any elections to be held, or any leases executed, in the college, until the house of commons should give further orders therein; and to complete the triumph over royal prerogative, the committee was empowered to inspect the old and new statutes, and to make such a compilation of laws from both, as they should judge necessary for the government of the college. In the next session, which was to complete this scheme of reformation, public disorders became too violent to admit of any attention to the government of a college.

We may naturally expect to find an house of commons of so inflamed a spirit, resuming the consideration of those queries which were to ascertain the constitutional rights of the Irish subjects, and proceeding on those impeachments which were to punish the violations of these rights^a. The first were indeed resumed with particular ardour; and the judges were again demanded to give explicit answers to the several questions proposed. They represented the hardship imposed on them of pronouncing extrajudicial opinions on points already decided by the commons, already transmitted to the king as grievances, and before the sentence of his majesty could be known, on questions too general; on points which concerned the high courts of the kingdom, and which judges of inferior courts could not decide without the royal licence. They expressed their apprehensions of being censured or impeached, should their answers prove not exactly consonant to the declared sentiments of the commons. They were however commanded to answer the queries, so far as might consist with the duties of their

station, and a just attention to the royal prerogative. Their answers were temperate and guarded: the commons voted them unsatisfactory. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, who had felt the severity of lord Strafford's administration, and now stood forth a zealous, irritated, and active partizan in the commons, was appointed prolocutor, at a conference with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions proposed, and the insufficiency of the answers returned by the judges. The contest was closed, by a solemn determination of the house of commons, on every separate article, in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed with strength and precision, and all the powers assumed by the late administration, all irregular or illegal practices introduced by public confusions and sanctified by custom, were condemned explicitly and severely.

IN the impeachments, the house proceeded with less violence. Strafford had been deprived of any advantage to be derived from the evidence of the impeached lords. An act of attainder had been passed against him, and he had been already executed. The vengeance of his enemies in the Irish commons was not so insatiate as to require more victims. For the sake of form, and not immediately to relinquish their former proceedings, they appointed a committee to consider Sir George Ratcliffe's answers to their remonstrance^b: they received petitions against the bishop of Derry, and desired that the lords might not admit him to bail; the prelate, conscious of his innocence, petitioned the house of commons, that they would vouchsafe to hear his defence on one, two, or more of the foulest articles alledged against him

^b Carte.

him, which should convince them that the rest were unworthy of their audience; but they declined this mode of proceeding. Though Bolton, the chancellor, and Sir Gerald Lowther, still kept their seats in council and in their courts, yet a new speaker had been appointed for the house of lords; and each of the accused persons exhibited an answer to the articles of their impeachment. But the fury of the commons was exhausted; no replication was prepared, no further prosecution attempted.

THE general proceedings of this Irish parliament, when candidly and impartially considered, discover no more exceptionable motives than an aversion to lord Strafford, provoked by an administration, in many instances imperious and severe; a resentment against the agents of his arbitrary measures; a passion for reformation; an eagerness to take advantage of the embarrassed and distressed circumstances of the king, to circumscribe the royal prerogative, and to support the popular rights and interests. One or two particulars of their conduct admit of a less favourable construction.

THE Irish forces, raised by lord Strafford for the service of Scotland^c, had long continued an useless and grievous burden to the state of Ireland, and an odious and alarming object to the English commons. Money was wanting to discharge their arrears; to disband them unpaid were highly dangerous. The urgent and repeated remonstrances of the English parliament made it necessary to disband them; and to prevent the danger, Charles resolved to send them into some foreign service. France lay too near, too conveniently situated with regard to Ireland; and
Richelieu

Richelieu was supposed as well inclined to raise commotions in this kingdom as in Scotland : the commons too, at this time, affected fears of an invasion from France. The king therefore resolved to send these forces into Spain, and for this purpose had actually entered into treaty with the Spanish ambassador. Orders were transmitted for disbanding them; and the state of Ireland was left to provide the money necessary for this purpose. By the address and diligence of the king's friends, a sum was raised not sufficient to discharge the arrears, but such as at present satisfied the soldiery. The regulations for dismissing them were so providently made, and the orders so exactly executed, that the whole body was dissolved without any immediate inconvenience or disorder. Preparations were now made for transporting the forces into Spain; and considerable sums of money expended for this purpose by the Spanish Ambassador: when on a sudden, both the Irish committee in London, and the commons in Ireland, clamoured passionately against this measure. They urged, with a plausible and affected tenderness for the interests of the crown, that these forces might be sent back from Spain to raise insurrections in Ireland; that although the present king of Spain was in amity with his majesty, yet his grandfather had meditated the conquest of this kingdom, and had been too successful in exciting the Irish to rebellion; that several heads of families, attainted in the late reign, were now entertained at the Spanish court, and honoured with titles taken from places in Ireland, where their ancestors had flourished. They might hereafter be appointed to command the Irish troops; they might lead them back to assert their antient claims, and regain their forfeited inheritance.

If we may judge from the event, it seems not improbable that this clamour was industriously raised, and these specious arguments artfully suggested, by some leaders who entertained malignant designs against the English government. It was at least highly favourable to the purposes of such men, that a number of idle, indigent swordsmen, should be retained in Ireland, enflamed with religious bigotry and the pride of family, possessed with the barbarous ideas of chieftainry and its ties; with an habitual aversion to the English power; distracted by the clamour of public grievances, and ready for any purpose of innovation, how desperate soever. The English parliament, insensible or indifferent to the consequences, earnestly adopted the sentiments of the Irish commons, and echoed their affected apprehensions of an invasion from Spain. They well knew that the king of Spain, even if his present amity with England were ever so dissembled, had neither leisure nor power to project an invasion of its dominions, reduced as he was by a long war with France, and the late revolt of Portugal and Catalonia. But they mortified the king, and displayed their own power, by declaring that they held it unfit to allow any levies in Ireland for the service of the king of Spain. They stopped the transports provided by the Spanish ambassador; he complained of the disappointment, and expence incurred by a reliance on the royal promise; Charles addressed himself to the house of lords; but parliament was inexorable. Merchants were obliged to give security that they would not transport forces from any part of the king's dominions. The Irish soldiers were left to prey upon their country, and to be made the instruments of rebellion.

ANOTHER particular, apparently of less moment, could not but raise some suspicion of designs against the public peace. The popular spirit in England had been considerably enflamed by rumours of plots, and extravagant suggestions of some sudden danger. The same artifice was practised in Ireland, and with the same success. It was rumoured that some servants or dependants of the late earl of Strafford had conspired to revenge his fall, by destroying the whole Irish parliament at one blow; and for this purpose had lodged a magazine of gunpowder under their place of session. Some leaders of both houses affected an alarm at this intelligence, and procured an order for a committee to inspect the chambers of the castle of Dublin, and to search for powder and ammunition. Every place adjacent to the apartments occupied by the two houses was ransacked with an extraordinary care; but no suspicious circumstance was discovered^e. Lord Macguire, the head of this committee, a nobleman, of whom we shall have immediate occasion to speak fully, was yet unsatisfied; he discovered an extraordinary solicitude to be made acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the stores; he lavished his money on the officers and servants to purchase information: yet without prevailing: he addressed himself to Sir John Borlase, one of the lords justices and master of the ordnance. He surprised him with a demand to be admitted to the royal magazines, by virtue of an order of parliament, and to inspect the stores. Borlase, in the open honesty of a military man, did not possibly suspect any design of seizing these stores; but the pretence for this order was manifestly groundless, and this extraordinary solicitude to inspect

inspect the magazines wherever they were situated, did not even correspond with the pretence. Macguire was mortified with a peremptory denial. "The stores," said Borlase, "are his majesty's precious jewels, and not to be exposed to view without special cause."

A SESSION of considerable heat and violence was protracted, in expectation of the Irish committees at length returning to Ireland with the bills promised by the king^f. The delay grew inconvenient and alarming to the chief governours, who dreaded some new acts of violence from the parliament. The solicitude, which this assembly expressed for a continuance of their session, served but to confirm the lords justices in their earnestness for a recess. The houses adjourned, in full expectation of prosecuting their schemes of reformation in a future meeting, and apparently with a determined purpose of rising in their demands, and extorting new concessions from the throne. The time was most favourable to such designs; the Irish houses had discovered a spirit and discernment to embrace the favourable opportunity. To animate their hopes, the committees at length arrived, laden with favour and honour. They brought those bills for which the parliament had repeatedly and strenuously petitioned, by which the possessions of the subjects were ensured, and all their capital grievances redressed: so as to leave the most factious without reasonable excuse; to give real satisfaction to those who had asserted the rights of Irish subjects with sincerity and integrity, and to open a fair prospect of public tranquillity and national improvement.

C H A P. III.

Peace of Ireland fatally interrupted.—Causes and occasions of rebellion.—Temper of the mere Irish—and old English.—Their provocations.—Influence of religion.—Spirit and principles of Romish ecclesiastics.—Their practices on the continent.—Schemes of insurrection discovered by Heber Mac-Mahon.--Influence of the Scottish insurrection.—Character of Roger Moore.—His connexion with young Tirone.—His practices with Plunket and Macguire.—He engages other Northerners.—Their conferences.—Their hopes of foreign succours.—They are enflamed by intelligence from England.—Proposal for seizing the castle of Dublin.—Sir Phelim O’Nial.—Plan of the conspiracy.—The whole design on the point of being laid aside.—Zeal of Moore to revive it.—Scheme of proceeding in Dublin—and in the country.—Fantastical projects of some conspirators.—Assembly at the abbey of Multifernam.—Conspirators repair to Dublin.—Their consultation on the twenty-second of October.--Supineness of government. Information of Sir William Cole neglected --Owen O’Connolly. His conference with Mac-Mahon.--His information to Sir William Parsons.--Council assembled at the house of Sir John Borlase.--Mac-Mahon seized and examined.--Lord Macguire detected and secured.--Escape of their associates.--Sir Francis Willoughby.--His advice.--His zeal and assiduity.—Confusion in Dublin.--False rumours.--Stratagem of Sir John Temple.--Measures for the public defence.--Lords of the Pale apply for arms.--Answer of the justices and council.--The proclamation of government offensive to the lords of the Pale. Second Proclamation.--Dispatches to the king, and

to the earl of Leicester.--Successes of the rebels in Ulster.--Proceedings in Cavan and Longford.--Error of the English.--Their calamities.--Rancorous spirit of the rebels.--Their pretended commission from the king.--Their subsequent manifesto.--Remonstrance from Longford.--Opposition given to the rebels.--Dispatches and supplies from the king.--O'Nial foiled and disgraced--Defeat of the rebels at Lisburn. Horrid cruelties of the rebels.--Massacre in ISLAND MAGEE.

THE interval of that recess, to which the Irish parliament had reluctantly submitted, proved an important period; distinguished by a desperate conspiracy and insurrection. The hopes conceived from a peace of forty years, from the gradual improvement of the nation, from the activity of its parliament, from the favourable disposition of the king, from the temper of the English parliament, were in an instant confounded; and the calamities of former times revived in all their bitterness.

IT is difficult, if not impossible, for a subject of Ireland to write of the transactions, now to be explained, without offending some, or all of those discordant parties, who have been habituated to view them through the medium of their passions and prepossessions. The sufferings of their ancestors may have been shockingly aggravated, or their offences fallaciously extenuated. But it is not to be expected from the historian, that the allegations of their several partizans should be minutely stated, discussed and confuted. It is his part to form a general narrative upon the best information to be obtained, with

an attention steadily confined to truth, without flattering the prejudices, or fearing the resentments of sects or parties. A rapturous encomium on the present happiness and tranquillity of the nation, might be affectingly contrasted by some animated description of succeeding miseries and enormities. But it will be less dangerous, and possibly more candid, to confine ourselves within the sober bounds of history; and first to trace the causes and occasions of a rebellion, whose effects have been important and permanent; and do not cease to operate even at this day, after a lapse of one hundred and thirty years.

THE victories of Elizabeth in Ireland left her successor to the exercise of his political and legislative abilities in this part of his dominions. But neither arms nor policy can at once form men's passions and sentiments by a new model, or extinguish every spark of national prejudice and animosity. Through the best governed and most civilized parts of Ireland, they produced an exterior of peace and reformation. Yet even these parts harboured numbers of the old Irish race, attached to the remains of their respective tribes, smarting with remembrance of their sufferings, and habituated to regard the English government as an injurious usurpation. In remoter districts, the old inhabitants retained their original manners more avowedly, and were less careful to dissemble their resentments.

THEIR aversion extended, though with less inveteracy, to the old English race settled for several centuries in their country; and in their prosperity they made little scruple to express it. Of this race, numbers had united with the rebel-earl of Tirone.

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In the pride of victory he boasted, that every man of English birth should be exterminated from every part of Ireland^h; and to the astonishment of his old English confederates, he insolently assured them, that they also were to expect the same fate; or if any of them should be suffered to remain, they were to become menial servants to the Irish, the only rightful inheritors of the land.

BUT such occasional effusions of insolence were not sufficient to estrange the old English from the original natives, or to possess them with that detestation of the mere Irish, which they who treat of the present period sometimes ascribe to them. They for the most part spake the Irish language; they had all, in some degree, adopted Irish manners. Both races were intermixed by marriages; they were united by religion; and they complained of the same grievances. By the new adventurers, employed in the service of the crown, both were regarded indiscriminately as one people equally disaffected, and dangerous to the English interest. These men, who had raised large fortunes in Ireland, and frequently upon the ruin of the old natives, affected to be considered as the only loyal subjects of the realm; and artfully contrived that even the most respectable of the old English families should be regarded by the crown with suspicion, and excluded from every office of trust or honour. The earl of Strafford proceeded yet further. It was his professed policy to break all factious combinations, to mortify all popular leaders, and to convince the proudest amongst them, that no power in Ireland should stand in competition with the king's vice-gerent. But he pursued this policy without temper or discretion,

^h Chichester's State Papers, MS. Trin Col. Dub.

cretion. He was ever impatient to express his scorn of the old English race ; he studiously denied their nobles that respect and attention, to which they had been used in former timesⁱ ; he told those men, whose ancestors had acquired the dominion of Ireland by their blood, that they were a conquered people, divested of all political rights, and dependent solely on the royal pleasure.

THE professed policy of James was to unite the inhabitants of Ireland, and for ever to abolish all odious distinctions. The real policy of his ministers, and their successors, was to distinguish them into two parties, that of loyal and affectionate subjects, containing only the late adventurers and servants of the crown ; and that of the disaffected and dangerous, including all the rest of the inhabitants. The people thus insulted, were spirited and proud ; and there was an infatuated folly, as well as a barbarous iniquity, in provoking them yet further by injustice and oppression. The northern plantation, however justified, and well devised, was an object necessarily offensive to the pride and prejudices of the old Irish ; and those among them who submitted and accepted their portion of lands, complained that in many instances they had been scandalously defrauded. The revival of obsolete claims of the crown, harrassing of proprietors by fictions of law, dispossessing them by fraud and circumvention, and all the various artifices of interested agents and ministers, were naturally irritating ; and the public discontents must have been further enflamed by the insincerity of Charles, in evading the confirmation of his GRACES, the insolence of Strafford in openly refusing it ; together with the nature

nature and manner of his proceedings against the proprietors of Connaught.

To the influence of national prejudices and grievances in estranging the people from English government, we are to add the powerful operation of religious principles and prepossessions. Far the greater number of inhabitants were obstinately devoted to popery, provoked and mortified by the penal statutes of Elizabeth, and impatient of the odious disqualifications imposed upon them. These statutes indeed had not been generally enforced in their full rigour. Sometimes, however, the insolence of popish ecclesiastics provoked the execution of them; sometimes the terrour of them was used as a political engine to extort concessions from the popish party; and in either case, there was pretence sufficient for exciting popular clamour. The Romish clergy had that influence even over the gentry of their communion, with which they are invested by the tenets of their religion; the ignorant herd of papists they governed at their pleasure. They had received their education, and imbibed their principles in foreign seminaries, particularly of France and Spain. Hence they returned to Ireland, bound solemnly to the pope in an unlimited submission, without profession, or bond of allegiance to the king; full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion professed to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the pope, as well civil as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes, to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential differences of vice and virtue. With this,
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and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries, “contrary,” saith Walsh, the Irish Franciscan,^k “to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the Christian church for ten ages, and moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature.”

ECCLESIASTICS of such a spirit and such principles were suffered to erect a spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland^l, exercised under the papal authority, generally with connivance, sometimes under the protection of popish magistrates, (for such men had in some instances been admitted to magistracies, without taking the oath of supremacy). But this jurisdiction was precarious, subject to the restraint and animadversion of the civil power, and therefore little suited to the ideas of clerical authority formed in countries, where popery was legally established. The state connived at the private exercise of their religious rites and devotions. But their imaginations were forcibly impressed with that pomp of religion, which they had seen in foreign countries. They had been witnesses of the grandeur of foreign prelates, the reverence paid to all orders of their clergy, their noble endowments, and comfortable revenues. They were mortified at their own situation, the disguise and secrecy to which they were reduced, the scanty and dependent subsistence, which they were impatient to exchange for the established income of the protestant clergy. Small as it was at this time, yet in their hands it might be considerably improved by the superstition of the laity, and the terrour of ecclesiastical censures.

I T

^k Walsh's Irish Remonstrance, Dedicate.^l Carte. Orme.

IT were fruitless and absurd to attempt the gratification of their desires in any way but that of arms and insurrection. In foreign countries they found numbers of their countrymen, the offspring or followers of rebel chieftains, who were caressed and employed. They had little difficulty in inflaming such men with the remembrance of their family grandeur, the brave efforts of their fathers in the cause of religion and liberty, (for such was the language obvious to be used) their present state of depression, and the hopes of executing an effectual vengeance on their English oppressors. By the assistance of these their countrymen, or by the merit of being sufferers for religion, several of them gained access to ministers of state. To these they magnified the strength of the Irish catholics, represented them as impatient to take arms for the faith, solicited succours for the pious undertaking, and sometimes received no unfavourable answers. Elevated by any marks of attention, and conceiving sanguine hopes from the slightest intimations of favour and encouragement, they dispatched their emissaries into Ireland, to practise with the old Irish. The old Irish, proud, querulous, violent, unemployed, disdaining every profession but that of arms, were easily roused to any desperate attempt. Consultations were held, correspondencies conducted and carried on, schemes of insurrection formed; and so early as the year 1634, Heber MacMahon, a Romish ecclesiastic, gave information to lord Strafford of a general insurrection intended in Ireland, to be assisted from abroad; and that he himself had been long employed in foreign courts, soliciting supplies for such an undertaking. Strafford was contented with taking the necessary precautions for

for security, without alarming the nation; and providing that the practices of the Irish in foreign courts should be strictly watched, and faithfully reported. Rumours of conspiracy lightly propagated, and attended by no apparent consequences, served to confirm the confidence of Irish government, and to render it insensible to real danger. The spirit of rebellion was restrained, but not suppressed by the vigilance of Strafford; the severity of his administration encreased its acrimony.

WHILE the passions of the Irish were thus dangerously agitated, the male-contents of Scotland, by their spirited and determined efforts in the cause of religion, and for the redress of civil grievances; by their resolution in taking arms, by the progress and success of their irruption into England, seemed to reproach the supineness of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scots were suffered to establish a new religion, the Irish deemed it more meritorious; and less offensive, to labour for the restoration of an ancient model; if the Scots complained of temporal grievances, those of the Irish were more afflicting; if the valour of the Scots had extorted the amplest concessions, it was shameful for the Irish to resign the palm of valour. Such were the sentiments which popish emissaries were now remarkably industrious to propagate. They held their consultations, and formed their schemes of insurrection on the continent; their ecclesiastical agents were poured into Ireland; and so unguarded was their zeal, that their motions were not unnoticed^m. The English ministers soon perceived an unusual ferment among the Irish in foreign countries, they received secret intimations

mations of some conspiracy now forming, they conveyed the intelligence to their court; and Vane, the secretary, was directed to acquaint the Irish lords justices "that there had passed from Spain, and "other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish "churchmen for England and Ireland; and some "good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising "levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a "rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught." It doth not appear that any measures were taken by the justices in consequence of this precaution; although the danger was approaching to their very door: the enemies of government were now giving some form to their design; and the address and abilities of one man conducting it to the point of final execution.

ROGER MOORE was the head of a once powerful Irish family of Leinster. His ancestors, in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their princely possessions, by violence and fraud; and their sept harrassed and almost extirpated by military execution. Their remains were distinguished by an hereditary hatred of the English, which O'Moore of queen Elizabeth's reign, expressed by the violence and obstinacy of his hostilities. The resentment of Roger was equally determined; irritated, as he was, by the sufferings of his ancestors, his own indigence and depression, and the mortifying view of what he called his rightful inheritance possessed by strangers, rioting in the spoils of his family. But his conduct was cautious and deliberate; for he had judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners unknown to his predecessors. He was allied by inter-

marriages to several of the old English, and lived in intimacy with the most civilized and noblest of their race. Some part of his youth had been spent on the continent, where his manners were still further polished, and his hatred of the English power confirmed, by an intercourse with his exiled countrymen. He attached himself particularly to the son of the rebel earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and who was caressed at the court. It was natural for such companions to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cause of their countrymen, and the hopes of still reviving the antient splendour of their families. With such men, in such a place, an aversion to that power, which had subverted all the old establishments in Ireland, was heroic patriotism. The spirit of Moore was on fire. He vowed to make one brave effort for the restoration of his brethren, was applauded by his associate, and returned to Ireland, totally engaged by the bold design.

FROM the moment that the idea had first dawned in his mind, Moore wisely contrived by every possible means to conciliate the esteem and affection of the native Irish : he had the qualities most effectual for this purpose ; a person remarkably graceful, an aspect of dignity, a courteous and insinuating address, a quick discernment of men's characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The old Irish beheld the gallant representative of one of their distinguished families, with an extravagance of rapture and affection ; they regarded him as their glory and their protection ; they celebrated him in their songs ; and it became a proverbial expression, that their dependence was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

HE proceeded to practise cautiously with his friends and kinsmen, and by fomenting their discontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his design. Among these was Richard Plunket, younger son of that Sir Christopher Plunket, who, in the government of Chichester, was a distinguished leader of opposition in the Irish parliament; a man well descended and allied. He had been bred in England, obtained a military command in Flanders, was distinguished and advanced; he had a politeness which recommended him to his numerous connections, and a plausibility which enabled him to influence and govern them. Vain in his temper, indigent in his fortune, and bigoted in religion, he was a fit instrument for Moore. The artful conspirator exaggerated the insults which the whole nation had sustained from the oppressive government of Strafford, enumerated all the public grievances, lamented the tedious and ineffectual measures taken for redress, extolled the gallantry of the Scots, who had at once established their religion and liberties, condemned the supineness of his own countrymen, who instead of making a brave effort worthy of their valour, at a juncture the most favourable to such a purpose, waited with submission, until the puritanic party of England and Scotland should utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Such suggestions had an instant effect on the mind of Plunket: he resigned himself to the direction of his kinsman, and became an active agent in his conspiracy.

No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the leaders of the Ulster Irish, who had been so severely
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ly chastised by the arms of Elizabeth, and so grievously despoiled by the plantations of James.—Of these, Moore first applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniskillen. This lord was regarded as chieftan, by the remains of his sept still left in the county of Fermanagh. His ancestor had forfeited in the rebellion of Tirone; part of the forfeited lands had been restored to his grand-father for good services, and descended to the present lord, a youth of mean understanding, and a licentious and expensive life, already overwhelmed with debts, proud and impatient of his distress. Moore reminded him of the antient affluence and splendour of his family, pathetically lamented his present difficulties, inveighed against that power which had despoiled the old and rightful possessors of the island, and planted a race of aliens and foreigners on their patrimony. The English government, he observed was now become universally odious; that all the old inhabitants of Ireland, as well of the English as Irish race, were impatient of their numerous oppressions; and surely no juncture could be more favourable than the present, for a brave attempt to assert their liberties and regain their inheritance. When such general intimations proved insufficient, he demanded an oath of secrecy from Maguire; and under this seal assured him that he had conferred with several of the best quality in Leinster, as well as with numbers in Connaught, on the scheme of a general insurrection; that he found them ready to engage, provided the Irish of Ulster would unite in the design; a design which would restore him to the possessions, and establish the religion of his ancestors, unless he should meanly submit to his present distress, and suffer the English parliament to extend their persecution of the Catholics into Ireland, and exterminate

exterminate every professor of the Romish faith. His artifice at length prevailed; and with still greater ease, he wrought to his purposes three other Irishmen of the northern province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reily, and Torlagh, brother of Sir Phelim O'Nial the most considerable of his name and lineage now resident in Ulster.

IN his conferences with these new associates, he observed, that a general insurrection might be easily effected, in the present disordered state of England and Scotland, and when such numbers of their kinsmen and followers were in arms, and would gladly revolt to their natural leaders; that the time of execution should be chosen at the approach of winter, when no succours could be sent from England; that each should practise with his own friends; and as there was no doubt of receiving aid from abroad, they should notify their resolutions to the Irish on the continent. The northern conspirators cautiously insisted on the necessity of being fully and particularly assured of foreign succours before any measures should be hazarded on their part, except that of sounding the dispositions of their countrymen. Moore, who was impatient of delay, laboured to convince them of the futility of a tedious application to individuals, all friends to their design, and ready to rise in arms on the first alarm. Even the inhabitants of the Pale, he observed, would readily follow the example of the native Irish, or at least would stand neuter in the public commotion; that the scheme had been already communicated to several persons of power; that one leader was engaged who could command an extensive district: and when urgently pressed to declare him, he named lord Mayo,

Mayo, descended from a branch of the degenerate De Burghs, and of an extensive following in the western province.

To quicken the resolutions and animate the hopes of these conspirators. there now arrived opportunely from Spain an emissary from the earl of Tirone, as he was called, with assurances, to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition, from Cardinal Richelieu, and instructions to hold themselves in readiness for an insurrection. He was directed to inform the earl that the month of October was fixed for the time of rising, and to desire that all the foreign succours might then be in readiness. In their present agitation, they were not damped by a sudden rumour of the death of young Tirone. They instructed their messenger, that if the report should be confirmed, he should address himself to another of the same family in the Low Countries, colonel Owen O'Nial, to acquaint him with the measures concerted in Ireland. and to desire his assistance and direction; and particularly that he would continue the negociation with the cardinal of France, and secure the succours he had promised.

THE spirits of the male-contents, even of those not actually engaged in the conspiracy, were still further enflamed by new intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations issued against the catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots against all of their communion. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic, fury of the puritans, were seriously conceived by some, and affected and propagated by the more designing. They possessed mens minds with the imagination of a Scottish
army,

army, in all the phrensy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Irish shores, and to persecute the Romanists with sword and fire. Even the loyal catholics were alarmed at the thought of sending the disbanded Irish army into foreign service, when the regal authority, as well as their religion, was in danger. The conspirators had obvious reasons for insisting on the detention of these troops. Hence the violent clamours of the Irish commons, and the remonstrance against sending them to Spain^t. On intelligence of the king's permission to levy troops in Ireland for the Spanish service, Plunket, the associate of Moore, Hugh Byrne, a desperate male-content, whose father had been oppressed and deprived of his lands by Parsons the lord justice, and a third officer of the name of O'Nial, undertook to levy and transport some forces for this purpose; and, though unauthorized by the king, were unnoticed, or at least unrestrained by Irish government. Sir James Dillon, a man of honourable family of the old English race, pretended to be engaged in the same service. These officers were already involved in the general scheme of insurrection; and being all zealous catholics, expressed the utmost horror and detestation at the severities denounced against their religion in England and Scotland. In their secret consultations they laboured to animate their associates: they proposed to employ the forces they should raise in the cause of their brethren, and defence of their religion; and promised to seize the castle of Dublin, with all the king's stores, arms, and ammunition, provided that the insurrection should be general, and especially that the Irish of Ulster should support them by a spirited concurrence.

A DESPERATE and dangerous partizan, of the northern province, was about this time engaged in the conspiracy; SIR PHELM O'NIAL of Kinnard in the county of Tirone. He had been educated in Lincoln's Inn, and in his youth professed the protestant religion; but returned to popery, and the rudeness of an Irish life, on settling in his native country. His family had been treated with no severity by government; nor deprived of any of their possessions. On the contrary, their lands had been secured to them by their loyalty and good services, and by a new patent were confirmed to Sir Phelim. With a mean understanding, and a sensual and brutal temper, he took possession of his estate, before he had acquired judgment or discretion to conduct himself, and of consequence was soon involved in all the difficulties arising from a licentious and dissipated life. His name and family, however, gave him a considerable influence over the mere Irish of his province; which was increased by the death of the young Tirone, of Spain, at first lightly reported, but soon confirmed. This event left him in an uncontested rank of consequence among his kindred and dependents, chieftain of the extensive and powerful sept of O'Nial. He entertained his imagination with the prospect of exchanging his present indigence and inferiority, for the vast domains and princely power annexed to this title, in old times. With these hopes, he plunged eagerly into the conspiracy against English government. He entered into correspondence with Owen O'Nial, the Irish officer of the Low Countries; he listened to his assurances of foreign succours; he affected to appear the leader of the northern Irish; and, under pretence of levying forces for

for the king of Spain, collected all the indigent and profligate, the barbarous, the violent, or the discontented, and kept them in readiness to obey the orders of their superiour.

THE acquisition of such a partizan gave new confidence to those officers, Plunket, Byrne, and Dillon, who had undertaken to seize the castle of Dublin. They had a fair prospect of a powerful northern insurrection to co-operate with their attempts. They continued their private consultations, and discussed every particular relative to the undertaking, calmly and distinctly^w. To pay their soldiers (for a civil war of some length was necessarily expected) they resolved to seize all the rents of the kingdom, without distinction of persons: and the pope, it was expected would send them an additional supply. They required some assurance of foreign succours. Byrne affected to slight the doubts of his associates: he told them that Owen O'Nial had received the most solemn promises of aid from cardinal Richelieu; and, particularly, would be enabled to furnish them instantly with a considerable quantity of arms; that he himself had conferred with the Spanish ambassadour, and doubted not of assistance from his court; that they were engaged in defence of the catholic religion; that every catholic power must therefore necessarily espouse their cause. As to the gentlemen of the Pale, Plunket boldly undertook to procure their concurrence: several of them, he declared, he had already sounded, and found willing to engage; that he had even opened the design of an insurrection to lord Gormanston, and others of the Irish committees in London, who approved and commended it; so that he had a moral certainty of effectual assistance

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from

^w Narrative of L. Macguire.

from the Pale. These vague expectations were sufficient to confirm the conspirators in their purpose. The fifth of October was fixed for the time of rising. It was resolved that Plunket and Byrne should seize the castle of Dublin, with one hundred men; that Sir James Dillon should march to their support with one thousand, and that, while the Ulster leaders were employed in securing London-Derry, and all the forts and garrisons of the North, they would detach one thousand more to the assistance of their friends in Dublin.

HITHERTO, Roger Moore beheld with secret pleasure the progress of that conflagration which he had lighted up: he had of late kept himself retired, employing Lord Macguire as agent and emissary, to carry on the correspondence between the different conspirators. But now, he was necessarily called forth to a more active part, as his whole favourite scheme seemed on the point of ruin. Sir Phelim O'Neil, who assumed a sort of consequence and authority, insisted that the insurrection should be deferred to a later day; for that he could not commence his operations so early as the fifth of October: nor did he appear sufficiently determined, or decided in his method of procedure. What was still more alarming, the vanity of Plunket, in answering for the gentlemen of the Pale, began to be suspected by his associates. It seems highly improbable that Plunket, knowingly and purposedly, gave false assurances: men of his temper deceive themselves. He might have discoursed with several of the Pale on a scheme of insurrection; and they might, in general, have approved the design of imitating Scotland, taking advantage of the disorders of England, and

and establishing their religion by a military enterprize. But their fortunes were not so desperate, nor their passions so inflamed, as those of the mere Irish. They were generally under the influence of lawyers (for the sons of their noblest families had been bred to the profession of law). And these are „ a set of men,” saith Mr. Carte, “ always averse to war, in which their profession is of “ little use.” They had conducted an opposition in parliament with remarkable success; they had gained many concessions from the crown; and had not their progress been fatally interrupted, they might have taken further advantage of the distresses and abasement of the king, and extorted further provisions for the rights and interests of Irish subjects. The more moderate of the Pale were contented to proceed in this manner: the most provoked and violent, determined rather to take advantage of a successful commotion, than engage in a precarious and dangerous attempt to raise it.

THEY, y on the other hand, who had already engaged in the more desperate part were offended and alarmed at the coldness of the Pale. They expected to have been already joined by some leaders of this district: they complained to Plunket of their disappointment; and Plunket, ashamed of the confidence he had formerly expressed, was now obliged to confess, that his friends were not prepared to join in the commencement of the enterprize, though well disposed to second it. His associates reminded him, that their engagement to attempt the castle of Dublin, was made on condition of a general concurrence: since this could not be obtained, they were resolved to abandon an enterprize, in which they alone were to
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be exposed to danger, without any reasonable hopes of success.

THE undaunted spirit of Moore was irritated and mortified. He stepped out of his retreat; he conferred with Sir Phelim O'Nial; he conjured him not to be deterred, by the levity of Plunket, or the timidity of Dillon, from an enterprize which was to restore the antient grandeur of his house. He addressed himself to colonel Byrne; enflamed his resentment of the injuries of his family, and reproached his inglorious caution and reluctance. He lamented the disappointment of their friends on the continent, who impatiently expected some gallant effort on their parts, and were ready to pour their foreign succours into Ireland. By his assiduity; by his address and artifice, he so wrought on O'Nial, Byrne, and Macguire, that they grew ashamed of their fears, and resumed their purpose of taking arms, notwithstanding the defection of some few of their confederates. The conspiracy thus revived, produced frequent conferences in different places, to collect associates, and regulate the order and method of procedure.

IT was finally resolved to surprize the castle of Dublin on the twenty third day of October^a. Moore was the first to undertake this bold enterprize; and to him, together with Byrne, Macguire, and captain Brian O'Nial, it was principally committed; while Sir Phelim O'Nial engaged to lead the northern insurrection. In the attempt on the castle two hundred men were to be employed, composed equally of their followers from Ulster and Leinster. From the former province Sir Phelim and Brian O'Nial, MacMahon, Reily, and Macguire engaged to detach
their

^a Narrative of L. Macguire.

their respective parties, under able and faithful leaders. That their march might be less suspicious, it was contrived that they should be taken for new levies intended for the service of Spain; and as the day appointed for their arrival in Dublin, was that on which a weekly market was usually held, it was presumed, that the extraordinary concourse would pass unnoticed. The leaders had their different stations appointed: they of Ulster were to make their attack on the great gate of the castle, while those of Leinster should force the smaller.

As to the proceedings in the country, it was resolved that the rising should be on the same day, and as general as possible; that all forts and garrisons should be seized, and all the gentry made prisoners, for the better security of the conspirators against any adverse fortune. For the same reason it was determined, that the enterprize should be conducted, in every quarter, with as little bloodshed as possible. Sir Phelim O'Nial was appointed to seize London-Derry, Sir Henry O'Nial, his kinsman, engaged to surprize Carricfergus; and the seizure of Newry was entrusted to Sir Conn Macgenis his brother-in-law and dependent. When this should be effected, the Ulster chieftains promised to march to Dublin to the assistance of Moore and his associates, that the post of greatest consequence might be effectually secured.

It was apprehended that the Scottish settlers, who were numerous and powerful in the northern province, might embarrass their designs by a strenuous and dangerous opposition. To obviate this inconvenience, it was resolved to leave them totally unmolested, as if with peculiar favour and indulgence to the

the old allies and kinsmen of the Irish. If this treatment should not keep them quiet, it was suggested, that their attention might be diverted to their own country, by raising some disturbances in Scotland, under favour of the earl of Argyle, who had formerly entered into a treaty of mutual assistance with young Tirone, and had sometimes intimated that he could raise a dangerous flame in Ireland.

SUCH were the schemes, the prospects, the progress, and the motives of these leaders of the conspiracy. The memoirs of one Plunket, which lie among the manuscripts of the Bodleian library, assure us, with consummate gravity, that the earl of Ormond had received private instructions from the king to seize the persons of the two puritan lords justices of Ireland; that the Irish leaders had discovered this secret; and that the sole object of their design was, originally, nothing more than to run foremost in loyalty, and to snatch the merit of this service from the earl. The falsehood has been sometimes shamefully adopted by popish zealots, and sometimes disgraced their foreign publications. But from the minute and artless narrative of a principal accomplice, deeply engaged, through the whole progress of the conspiracy, and admitted to the secret counsels of the great leaders, it appears (with the utmost clearness which can reasonably be requested in historical evidence) that the design was nothing less important, than the utter subversion of all the late establishments of property; restoring the native Irish to all that they had lost, by the rebellions of their ancestors, or the decisions of law; and procuring an establishment for the Romish religion, with all the splendour and affluence of its hierarchy.

IT is not indeed to be expected that all the different persons engaged in this design had precisely the same views and purposes. Some might have rushed wildly into a scheme of insurrection, which flattered their passions, without any premeditated plan of conduct, in case of success. Nor were the more deliberate agreed in their particular objects and pursuits. The moderate among them are said to have been contented with a reform of government, without renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England. They deemed it meritorious to relieve the subject, by confining the king's revenue within some reasonable and certain bounds; they determined to require that the administration of Irish government should be committed to two lords justices, one of the antient Irish, the other of the old British race, and both of the Romish profession; that the law of Poyning's should be utterly repealed, as well as every penal statute enacted against popery; that the Romish prelates should be admitted to parliament, and the Romish religion only established throughout the kingdom. Some were contented with expelling the British settlers, and re-investing all the old proprietors with their estates; others were for driving out the new created lords, and even those of the old nobility who should not conform to popery: others again possessed their imaginations with schemes the most absurd and fantastical: they computed that two hundred thousand able men might be found in Ireland, entirely at their devotion; of these they proposed to arm thirty thousand, by means of those supplies expected from the continent; they were to transport this army into England; they were to be assisted by France and Spain; they were

to reduce the whole island of Britain to an obedience to the pope; and when this glorious work should be affected, they were to assist their good ally the Spaniard against the Hollanders, and to chastise their rebellion.

SUCH extravagances are said to have gained particular possession of the Romish clergy. Heber MacMahon had been admitted into many secret consultations of the leading conspirators; and in the progress of their design, it was necessarily communicated to many other ecclesiastics. Men of this order, when engaged in any factious purpose, are, in proportion to their ignorance and inexperience, wild, insolent, and presumptuous. We are told, that early in the month of October a considerable meeting of the principal Romish clergy, together with some laymen of their faction, was held at the abbey of Multifernam, in the county of Westmeath. They consulted in the fulness of arrogance and vanity, as if they were already masters of the kingdom, and absolute directors of the intended war. Among other questions, it was debated what course should be taken with the English, and other protestants of the kingdom, when they should be at the mercy of the insurgents. The more moderate advised that they should be simply banished. The king of Spain, they observed, in expelling the Moors from Granada, and other parts of his dominions, had suffered them to depart unmolested, and even with some of their effects. They recommended the like honourable lenity towards the English, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted for some advantages, and whose countrymen of Britain would thus be the less incensed. Others exclaimed against the indulgence granted

granted to the Moors, as contrary to the express opinion of the Spanish council, and in the event highly detrimental not to Spain only, but all Christendom : they contended, that to dismiss the English unmolested were but to give them the opportunity of returning with double fury, to regain their possessions, and execute their revenge; that a general massacre was therefore the safest and most effectual method of freeing the kingdom from such fears. Others again declared against these extremes of lenity and cruelty, and suggested schemes of procedure, neither so indulgent, nor so abhorrent to humanity. Such is the account of this assembly given by a Franciscan, who alledged that he was present, and a sharer in those deliberations.

BUT if the clergy indulged such hopes from the success of the conspiracy, the leaders were more cautious and solicitous to secure this success. When the time of execution had been finally settled, an emissary was dispatched to Owen O'Nial; and returned with assurance that in fourteen days after he would arrive to their support. As the day approached, they gradually drew towards Dublin, in all the anxiety of men conscious of their momentous enterprise. On the evening of the twenty-second day of October they assembled, in expectation of the detachments destined to assault the castle; of these eighty only were arrived; neither Sir Phelim O'Nial's, nor Mac-Mahon's followers appeared. Colonel Byrne was alarmed at the absence of Sir Morgan Cavenagh, a conspirator of some consequence in Leinster. But these disappointments were not sufficient to deter the leaders. They encouraged each other with the assurance that every hour would encrease their num-

numbers. They persevered in their resolution ; and to give time for the arrival of their parties, resolved that the assault should be made on the evening of the ensuing day.

EVEN to this moment the chief governours of Ireland seemed to sleep in full security. On the death of Strafford, the earl of Leicester, descended from Sir Henry Sidney, so famous in Ireland, had been nominated lord lieutenant of this kingdom ; but his commission was delayed, and the administration of government still continued in the hands of Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlase. The first was vigilant only to encrease his fortune and consequence ; the latter an aged soldier, indolent, and ignorant, except in the business of his profession. The temper and principles of Parsons, the progress of his fortune, and the measures he had already taken to advance it, made it by no means incredible that he might artfully connive at a wild scheme of rebellion, to enrich his coffers by new forfeitures. His known attachment to the popular party of England might have also given him some degree of secret satisfaction in a public commotion, which would prove embarrassing to the crown. However this may be, both the lords justices were equally deficient in their vigilance and their affection to the king. They owed their station to the English commons ^f, and their partizans in the privy council ; and their attention and attachment were confined wholly to the prevailing power. Confident of support, they disobeyed the orders, and despised the instructions of the king. The caution transmitted by Sir Henry Vane seems to have been received with total disregard. On the eleventh day of October, an express
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from Sir William Cole a gentleman of Enniskillen, informed them of an unusual and suspicious resort of various Irish to the house of Sir Phelim O'Nial; of many private journeys made by lord Macguire: of dispatches sent to their different friends; an extraordinary solicitude for levying men, as if for the service of Spain, and other circumstances alarming to the friends of government. The lords justices still continued insensible to their danger. On the twenty-first, Cole dispatched a full account of the conspiracy, which had by this time been revealed to him by two accomplices. Yet this instance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual; for his letter to the justices was either intercepted or suppressed.

BUT accident at length obtruded a discovery on the lords justices, when the conspirators had already agreed finally on their operations, and but waited the hour of execution. Owen O'Connolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, and educated in the profession of a protestant, was considered by Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the conspirators, as an agent likely to engage, and to prove useful, in their design; whether from supposition of his secret attachment to the religion of his ancestors, or that his family had been despoiled by the plantations. Mac-Mahon summoned him to his house in the county of Monaghan; but before his arrival had removed to Dublin. Hither he was followed by O'Connolly; and their first interview was on the evening of the twenty-second day of October, when the leaders had closed their secret consultation^h, by falling on their knees, and drinking to the success of their enterprize.

IN the fulness of exultation and confidence, Mac-Mahon

Mahon disclosed the whole design to his associate; and dwelt with particular triumph on the glorious action of to-morrowⁱ. He introduced him to lord Macguire; and in his presence entered into a full detail of the intended enterprize. From Macguire, he again conducted him to his own lodgings; again enlarged on the gallantry of the attempt, the effectual precautions already taken, and the fair prospect of success; peremptorily insisting on his concurrence. A design of so much danger, so suddenly disclosed, so speedily to be executed, oppressed the imagination of O'Connolly. He attempted to convince Mac-Mahon of his perilous situation; but was answered with tremendous denunciations of vengeance should he presume to betray the least particle of the secret. Mac-Mahon insisted on detaining him to the very hour of the assault; O'Connolly found it necessary to affect compliance; he was at once converted into a determined conspirator; but pleading some casual necessity of retiring, and leaving his sword in Mac-Mahon's chamber, as if he were instantly to return, he rushed out in consternation, and, intoxicated as he was by a carousal with his friend, presented himself to Sir William Parsons.

WITH evident marks of disorder and confusion, he informed the lord justice of the desperate design to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal associates. Parsons, prejudiced against his appearance, and the manner of his discovery, coldly recommended to him to return to Mac-Mahon, and to inform himself more particularly of the intended treason. On his departure, the lord justice was suddenly recalled to a sense of danger. He ordered the castle and city to be guarded; he sought his
colleague,

colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlase was more deeply affected; he condemned him for dismissing the discoverer; summoned the privy counsellors; dispatched servants through the city in search of O'Connolly; they found him in the hands of the town watch; for as he had sufficient recollection not to return to MacMahon, he was seized in the streets as a suspicious person. He was still disordered by his terror and excess; he was permitted to take repose, and then gave his information clearly and particularly. MacMahon was first seized; lord Macguire was detected in his concealment; Moore, Byrne, and the other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and escaped. MacMahon*, after some hesitation, freely confessed the design in which he had engaged; boasted that the insurrection of that day was too mighty and too general to be subdued; and expressed his satisfaction, that although he had fallen into the power of his enemies, his death would be severely revenged.

HAPPILY for the state of Ireland, sir Francis Willoughby^k, governour of the fort of Galway, a privy counsellor, a spirited and experienced soldier, arrived at Dublin on this important evening. Finding the gates shut against him, and an unusual agitation

* It was observed, that this conspirator, while he waited in a hall, until the council should examine him, with great appearance of composure, amused himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or grovelling on the ground. It seems not unreasonable to suppose, that this might have arisen from a sudden recollection of that fate which he and his associates were to expect, on the discovery of their plot. But men interpreted the frivolous incident agreeably to their passions. They looked with horror on the conspirator, who could wantonly indulge his imagination with the cruelties to be exercised by his associates, and the horrid excesses of the rebellion.

^k Carte from MS. Memoirs,

tion in the suburbs, and being informed that the justices and council were now assembled at Chichester house, on the Green, leading to the college (for in this house Borlase now resided) he hastened thither, and learned the occasion of their unseasonable meeting. He comforted the council with an assurance, that through his whole journey from Galway the country seemed in profound composure, nor had he discovered the least indication of hostility. He informed them, however, that an unusual number of strange horsemen had all the night been pouring into the suburbs; and though denied admittance, still hovered round the city. He observed the insecurity of their present situation, and recommended to them to remove immediately to the castle. They obeyed. On entering the council chamber, they appointed Willoughby to the custody both of the castle and the city; and drew up a proclamation, notifying the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy formed by some evil affected Irish papists, recommending to all good subjects to provide for defence, and to display their loyalty; and forbidding any levies to be made for foreign service.

SUCH was the defenceless state of the castle of Dublin, that, although the conspirators had been prevented from surprising it, they might have easily taken it by force, had they not been dismayed by the sudden discovery of their design. The king's army, consisting of about two thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, was divided into small parties, stationed in distant garrisons. The citizens of Dublin had objected to lord Strafford, that in violation of their charter he had billeted soldiers in their city. The present justices had ever affected to administer
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their government on popular principles. They had quartered no soldiers in Dublin. The castle, in which was deposited fifteen hundred barrels of powder, with a proportional quantity of match and bullet, arms for ten thousand men, thirty five pieces of artillery, with all their equipage, was defended by eight infirm warders, and forty halberdiers, the usual guard of the chief governours on all occasions of parade. Willoughby lost not a moment in securing a place of such consequence against any sudden attempt. The council table was his only couch. He could not venture to let down his drawbridge, without the attendance of his whole insignificant guard, until the arrival of a part of his disbanded regiment from Carlisle, enabled him to arm two hundred men, for defence of the castle; a body, soon reinforced by those who fled for shelter to the capital, and by some detachments of the army recalled from their quarters by the lords justices.

IN the mean time the citizens of Dublin were without defence^m, alarmed at midnight with the clamour of treason and insurrection; confirmed in their fears, by those expresses which arrived on the succeeding day, notifying the successful progress of the rebels; distracted by false rumours, and tales of imaginary dangerⁿ. Some affirmed that the Irish were collected at Tarah to the number of ten thousand, and in a few hours would storm the city. Others insisted that they were on their march, and actually in view. Some of the privy council mounted the platform of the castle to discover the approaching enemy; some fancied that they perceived the motions of an army existing only in their fears. Those pro-

testant inhabitants, who, by their weakness, their age, or their sex, were most susceptible of terrour, swelled the crowds that waved tumultuously through the streets, in search of intelligence, and by their shrieks and clamours, encreased the general consternation. A few swords were, by some accident, drawn in the midst of a distracted populace. A person of some consequence saw the glitter at a distance : he flew to the castle-gate, hastily ordered the bridge to be drawn up; and with a tone and aspect of despair, assured the justices that the rebels had entered the city, and were furiously rushing through the streets leading to the castle. Willoughby soon discovered the mistake.

A PROCLAMATION, issued by the lords justices, commanding all strangers to depart from the city, on pain of death, had not allayed the general commotion. Many of the English inhabitants abandoned all hopes of defence, and suddenly prepared to escape to their native country. Some, who had already embarked, were detained by contrary winds, and chose rather to endure the extremities of distress and tempestuous weather, on shipboard, than to venture ashore into the power of a barbarous enemy. A fleet of Scottish fishermen offered to detach five hundred of their crew to the service of the state ; but scarcely had the overture been accepted, when a false alarm of danger drove them from the coast. Four hundred soldiers, embarked for the service of Spain, but detained in the harbour by orders of the English parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of perishing by famine ; and then were suffered to disperse through the country, to be enlisted by the rebel-leaders.

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THE state, however, derived some advantage from the public alarm. Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, collected the principal protestant merchants of the city; he advised them for their better security, in this time of danger and disorder, to deposit their effects within the castle, engaging to answer for the value of whatever should be applied to the public service. Thus was a seasonable supply of provisions obtained, at a time when the treasury was totally exhausted, and the magistrates of Dublin unable or unwilling to advance any money to the state.

A FEW days allayed the confusion of the capital, and enabled the chief governours to take their measures, and issue their orders with more composure. No intelligence of hostilities had been received but from the northern counties. Yet dispatches were sent to the lords presidents of Munster and Connaught (for these offices were still continued) directing them to provide for defence. The earl of Ormond was required to repair to Dublin with his troop. Commissions were sent by sea to several loyal gentlemen of Ulster, empowering them to prosecute the rebels, and to receive those who should submit to the king's mercy. To prevent any dangerous concourse in the city, the parliament appointed to assemble in November was still further prorogued, and the courts of law adjourned, except that of the exchequer, which was left open for receiving the king's rents. The sheriffs of those counties which composed the English Pale, were ordered to provide for the security of this district, where the power and numerous dependents of great lords, attached to the Romish cause, were evidently suspected and dreaded by government.

Nor were these apprehensions quieted, when the lords Gormanston, Nettervil, Fitz-William, Howth, Kildare, Fingal, Dunsany, Slane, appeared before the council, expressing their surprize and abhorrence of the conspiracy. All, Romish and protestant alike, gave solemn assurances of their loyalty, declared their readiness to concur in the defence of the realm; but as they were entirely destitute of arms, required to be provided, for their own security, as well as the annoyance of the enemy. The justices, in their puritanic hatred of popery, in a time of danger and secret treason, when all the enemies of government, and all the extent of their designs were not yet discovered, naturally regarded most of these lords with jealousy and distrust. To arm them, might be to enable them to join the rebels with greater strength. To deny them arms, were to avow a suspicion of their loyalty, which might provoke the wavering, and drive the determined to an immediate insurrection. In this embarrassment, a middle way was deemed the safest. The council assured them, that they had an entire reliance on their zeal and loyalty; that they would gladly supply them with arms, but were not yet assured that a sufficient number could be spared from the necessary defence of the castle and city; that some, however, should be spared. They accordingly delivered out a small quantity of arms and ammunition to some of those lords who, by their situation, seemed most exposed to danger; resolving, at the same time, not to arm the Pale effectually, unless the insurrection should become so general, as to oblige them to hazard every expedient for defence, however doubtful or precarious.

THE lords of the Pale probably had sufficient discernment

discernment to discover, or suspect, the real dispositions of the state, and the real motive for supplying them so sparingly with arms. They could not disprove the allegations of the council; yet their dissatisfaction appeared in that readiness with which they caught at the slightest occasion of complaint. In a few days they again appeared before the council; they expressed a deep concern at a proclamation issued by the state, and now published through the kingdom. It purported, that a detestable conspiracy had been formed, *by some evil-affected IRISH papists*. They apprehended that this expression might be so interpreted as to extend to their own persons, and to contain an injurious reflection on their loyalty. It was deemed necessary to condescend to this affected delicacy. By a second proclamation it was declared, that the words IRISH PAPISTS were only intended to include the mere Irish of Ulster, not to convey the least reflection or imputation of disloyalty on the old English, either of the Pale or any other parts of Ireland.

It was at the same time necessary, to send intelligence to the neighbouring kingdom of all these extraordinary events^q. Sir Henry Spotswood was charged with dispatches to the king, now resident in Edinburgh; O'Connolly was the bearer of a letter to the earl of Leicester, who attended the parliament in London. It contained a distinct account of the discovery, the apprehension of Mac-Mahon and Macguire, the succeeding incidents, and the measures taken for public defence. The justices and council declare, that, as the lives and fortunes of his majesty's subjects in Ireland, as well as his regal authority, are at stake, they must deviate from ordinary proceedings,

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not only in executing martial law, but in putting those to the rack, who might not otherwise discover their treason and accomplices: They point out the extreme danger of their situation, supposing the insurrection to become so general as Mac-Mahon had declared, and the necessity of speedy and effectual aid from England, unprovided as they were with money, unable to maintain their incompetent and scattered forces, and surrounded with secret enemies. They urge the necessity of the lord lieutenant's presence in Ireland; or if this could not be obtained, that he should appoint a lieutenant-general to command the army. But above all things, they desire that the English parliament should be moved to grant an immediate supply of money for the service of Ireland, the only means to prevent the expence of blood and treasure, in a long continued war.

THE letter was closed by a postscript, signed by Sir William Parsons, recommending O'Connolly, as a person who, by his faith and loyalty, had deserved such a mark of royal bounty as might extend to him and his posterity.

IN the mean time, the most affecting intelligences were hourly received of the progress of the northern rebels. Their operations had been duly concerted, their design concealed; and the confederates, faithful to their engagements, rose at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Nial led the way: on the evening of the twenty-second of October he surprized the castle of Charlemont, a place of consequence in these days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, had been made governour of this fort. With the simplicity

plicity and love of ease natural to a veteran, he declined the honour of an earldom, when offered by king James, contented himself with an hospitable residence on his estate, and lived with his Irish neighbours in unsuspecting confidence. Sir Phelim invited himself to sup with this lord; he and his followers were received; on a signal given, they seized the whole family, made the garrison prisoners, and ransacked the castle. Hence O'Nial flew to Dungannon and seized the fort, while some of his adherents possessed themselves of the town and castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlan: Newry, betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis and his train; and though the governour, Sir Arthur Tyringham escaped, yet several English gentlemen were made prisoners; and, what was of still greater consequence to the insurgents, they possessed themselves of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almost all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of strength in Monaghan was seized by the sept of Mac-Mahon. Derry, Colerain, Lisnegarvey, or Lisburn, and Carricfergus, were maintained against the boisterous assaults of the rebels; Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

IN the county of Cavan, both the representative in parliament, O'Reily, and the sheriff his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unusual regularity. The sheriff summoned the popish inhabitants to arms; they marched under his command with the appearance of discipline; forts, towns, and castles, were surrendered to them. Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, was compelled to draw up their remonstrance of grievances, to be presented

presented to the chief governours and council; in which they declare their apprehensions of persecution on account of religion, express their regret at being forced to seize the king's forts for his majesty's service, and profess their readiness to make restitution for any outrages committed by their inferiour followers. In the county of Longford, the sept of O'Ferghal had been particularly injured by the plantations of James; and were now impatient to avenge their injuries. The county, like that of Cavan, was summoned to arms by the popish sheriff; every castle, house, and plantation of the British inhabitants was seized. Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; so that within the space of eight days the rebels were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry (except of the places already mentioned, and some inferiour castles) together with some parts of the counties of Armagh and Downe.

THROUGH the whole open country of these districts, the English inhabitants, who were all industrious and rich, found themselves suddenly involved in the most deplorable calamities^u. They scarcely believed the first reports of an insurrection; and the beginnings of hostilities served rather to confound, than to excite them to any reasonable measures of defence. Instead of flying to places of strength, or collecting into considerable bodies, each made some feeble efforts for defending his own habitation; and thus fell, single and unsupported, into the power of a ruthless enemy. The alarm of war, and hopes of plunder, quickly allured the Irish septs to the service of O'Nial; so that in one week he is said to have
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become the leader of thirty thousand men: Parties of plunderers multiplied; by force or artifice they possessed themselves of the houses and properties of their English neighbours^w. Resistance produced some bloodshed; and in some instances private revenge, religious hatred, and the suspicion of some valuable concealment, enraged the triumphant rebels to insolence, cruelty and murder. So far however was the original scheme of the conspiracy at first pursued, that few fell by the sword, except in open war and assault; no indiscriminate massacre was as yet committed. The English were either confined in prisons, in perpetual terror of destruction; or driven from their habitations, naked, destitute, exposed to the rigour of a remarkably severe season, fainting and dying in the highways, or crawling to some place of refuge, in the ghastliness of fear and famine.

THE leaders of rebellion as yet confined their attack to the English settlements, and, agreeably to their scheme, left the Scottish planters unmolested. The English were the objects of their detestation, and the measures of a puritanic government the perpetual subject of their complaint. Their ignorant followers were assured, that the lords justices and council in Dublin, in conjunction with their friends of England, breathed the most desperate vengeance against the Romish religion^x; that a consultation had actually been held at Chichester-house for extirpating all of this communion from Ireland. Such suggestions gave new edge to the fury of the Irish. Every maurauding party thundered out their detestation of England, and English tyranny. They vow-

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^w Various Depos. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

^x Various, Depos. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

vowed not to leave one Englishman in their country; that they would have no king but one of their own nation; that they would destroy Charles, were he in their power; and hoped to drive out him and his children to wander in a foreign land for ever.

THIS rancorous spirit was kept alive by false hopes of assistance and support. The rebels were sometimes assured that the Scots had really concurred in the design of extirpating the English. Sometimes their leaders boasted that they had risen by instructions and commission from the queen. In seizing Charlemont, O'Nial declared that he acted by authority of the English parliament. But these pretences were instantly laid aside as dangerous to their cause. On the succeeding day the Irish leader professed that he had the king's commission for taking arms. He produced a parchment, with a great seal appending, which he affirmed to be this commission; and though he would not suffer it to be inspected, the bold assertion dismayed those protestants of the puritanic party, who entertained no favourable sentiments of Charles, and who at sight of the great seal declared, at once, that they were a SOLD PEOPLE^z. The commission soon appeared, drawn up in due form, and was notified with great solemnity to the Irish confederates.

IN this instrument the king is made to declare to his Catholic subjects of Ireland^a, that for the preservation of his person, he had long been obliged to take his residence in Scotland; occasioned by the disobedience of the English parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and assumed the government and administration of the realm;

y Ibid.

z Deposition of Jane Baer, &c.

a Nalfon, Rushworth.

realm ; that as these *storms blow aloft*, and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the PROTESTANT party, he hath given full power to his catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those of the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English PROTESTANTS within the kingdom of Ireland.—The first report of this commission was instantly encountered by a proclamation of the lords justices, in which they warn the subjects against the delusion of false and seditious rumours, derogatory to the honour of the crown; declare that they have full authority to prosecute the rebels; in the king's name command those who have been seduced to forsake all traiterous counsels; and denounce all the terrour of authority against those who shall refuse to accept the royal mercy.

AT this day, when the virulence of party has subsided, and men can dispassionately review the characters both of Charles and his opponents, the very terms, in which this instrument is conceived, may be sufficient to discredit it; and in indeed prove it to be a forgery, and a forgery precipitately and unjudiciously devised^b. At the end of this unhappy war, the rebel leaders, their clergy, their agents, all uniformly declared that they had no commission from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers^c. The dying declaration of lord Macguire disclaimed any commission from the king. Sir Phelim O'Nial on his trial, and at his death, was tempted to confess that he had acted by authority of Charles, and to produce the proof of his commission. On his trial, he peremptorily declared that *he never had received any commission*. He

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^b Depositions, MS.^c Carte. Nelson.

explained the means by which his Irish followers were deceived; he declared, that in ransacking the castle of Charlemont, he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great seal and affixed it to a forged commission. At the hour of his execution he persisted in a solemn disavowal of ever having received any commission from the king, for levying or prosecuting the war of Ireland*.

THESE positive evidences are corroborated by some incidents already mentioned, though hitherto unnoticed by any historian; the declaration of O'Nial, on the surprisal of Charlemont, that he acted by authority of the English parliament; the sudden change on the ensuing morning, and the new pretence of a royal commission; a parchment displayed, but no inspection suffered; a lapse of seven days before the publication of an instrument so essential to the interest of the insurgents. Another circumstance has escaped the observation of the most zealous partizans of Charles, and yet seems not unworthy of notice. Scarcely had this pretended commission been promulged, when, as if it had been considered as a mere temporary expedient for operating on the ignorant Northerns, another manifesto appeared, in which there is not the least mention of a point so material as a commission from the king; and which

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* It seems scarcely necessary to strengthen this positive evidence, by an incident mentioned by Mr. Carte.—That about six years before the publication of his *Life of Ormrod*, the very patent from which the great seal was torn, and which contained a grant of some lands in the county of Tirone, was produced on a suit of law, at the assizes of Tirone, by the late lord Charlemont, having on it evident marks of the seal being torn off, and an endorsement proving the fact; and was allowed by the judges as authentic.—The memory of this transaction is only preserved in the general and uncontested tradition of the county. I have not been able to procure any positive evidence of it. My dear and honoured friend, the present earl of Charlemont, has no patent in his possession answering to this description.

is conceived in such terms as seem purposely calculated to correct the errors of the former publication. It is so different from the first declaration of the rebels, "that it seems," saith Mr. Carte, "to be the work of Roger Moore, who, having escaped from Dublin, and fled into the county of Wicklow, made all the haste he could from thence to Sir Phelim, who, he knew, wanted judgment to conduct an enterprize of such consequence."

IN this manifesto the rebels complain of oppressions suffered by the Roman catholics; professing, at the same time, an inviolable loyalty to the king. While they acknowledge to have enjoyed some indulgence by his princely goodness, they represent the parliament of England as wresting the king's prerogative from his hands, denouncing utter extirpation against the catholics of Ireland, encouraging petitions against the papists, and *Protestant* prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and to depose the other. They complain that the government of Ireland has been successively committed to the hands of indigent and rapacious ministers, who, by inventions of fraud and oppression, had pillaged every order of subjects; so that their estates and consciences were exposed to the same tyranny. They declare, that as they have no hopes from his majesty, oppressed and despoiled as he was, by the arrogancy of faithless and disloyal subjects, they had of necessity taken arms, in defence of themselves and of the royal prerogative; they had seized the strongest forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to serve his majesty, and to secure themselves against the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that they were ready to yield up those places at his majesty's command, when a course should be taken to secure them, and the

PROTESTANTS of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects, against the factious and seditious puritans.

THIS manifesto was evidently calculated to cast that specious colouring on their cause, which might strike the more intelligent and less violent of the discontented party. In their pretended commission from the king, they censure the conduct of protestants, and declare that they had taken arms against the protestant party. But this was soon discovered to be precipitate and injudicious; for the Irish catholics of those days affected to consider the word PROTESTANT as a designation peculiar to the members of the established church. They deigned not to call the puritans by this title. So that in their first declaration, published in the king's name, no mention was at all made of those whom it was their interest to consider as their only enemies. In their manifesto the error is corrected. They represent their own religion, and that of the established communion, exposed to equal danger; and as they had formerly united with the puritans in their parliamentary transactions, and practices in London, so they now affect to form a new union against them, and to open their arms to every friend of prelacy and prerogative. The insurgents of Longford proceeded yet further^d. Instead of confining themselves to formal expressions of loyalty, they transmitted to the state an oath of allegiance which they had taken, together with their list of grievances, and their propositions for redress. They complained of the penal laws; the severity of inquisitions, and avoiding of letters patent; the restraint upon the mere Irish of purchasing lands in the escheated counties; and the odious incapacity

incapacity imposed on papists, of enjoying the honours and immunities of free subjects, without violence to their consciences. They proposed that a general act of oblivion should pass without any restitution, or account of goods taken in the present commotion; that the penal laws of Elizabeth should be repealed by parliament, and an ample charter of denization granted to the mere Irish. Their demands, however unreasonable, were explicit and defined; while the Ulster rebels made no particular propositions, but left themselves at liberty to prolong their war, by a perpetual suggestion of new dangers, fears, and jealousies. The immediate objects of their solicitude was to procure foreign succours, and to engage the Pale in their rebellion. Richelieu amused them with magnificent promises of assistance. The negotiations of Roger Moore, and his practices with the inhabitants of the Pale, were as yet without effect.

NOR did the progress of their northern war correspond with the rapidity of their first successes. The English gentlemen in different parts of Ulster quickly recovered from the first violent surprize, and took the necessary measures for defence. Carricfergus was the great northern asylum for those wretched fugitives who escaped the fury of the rebels, or were driven from their habitations. Chichester, the governor, collected, encouraged, and armed them. In other towns, not surprized by the rebels, measures were taken for defence; and the friends of government, though not as yet regularly authorised to command those forces they had raised, yet ventured to march out against the enemy. At Lisburne, or Lisnegarvy as it was then called, a body of one thousand was collected; and though not sufficiently disciplined

disciplined or obedient, served to terrify the scattered parties of the rebels. They were defeated in some skirmishes at Dromore; but wreaked their brutal vengeance on the inhabitants when the English were obliged to abandon this town. A commission, received from the lords justices, empowered colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyringham to command in the county of Antrim. They appointed a governor and garrison for Belfast; they stationed a party at Lisburn; they supplied Sir William Brownlow with ammunition for the defence of his castle and the town of Lurgan; they strengthened Derry, and stationed a garrison in the castle of Augher, which gallantly sustained a storm, and repelled the rebels.

A MESSENGER, dispatched by Chichester to the king, arrived before the express of the lords justices, and returned with assurances of speedy relief. Charles had immediately communicated his intelligence from Ireland to the Scottish parliament, in expectation that their zeal for religion, and abhorrence of popery, would at once rouse them to the defence of their afflicted brethern in the neighbouring kingdom. But in this case, their zeal was not enlivened by interest or faction. Their general professions were fair and plausible, but attended with pretences of delay and doubt. They required more particular information of the Irish commotions: they affected to apprehend, that the English parliament might be offended at their forwardness, should they prepare for the relief of Ireland without their knowledge and concurrence; and therefore determined, in the first place, to treat with the parliament in London. Charles, however mortified at this coldness, contrived, by the assistance of some experienced officers lately disbanded, to collect fifteen hundred

hundred of their old soldiers. These were instantly dispatched to his loyal commanders of Ulster, together with arms, ammunition, and some money procured by the assistance of the duke of Lennox.

EVEN this small supply served to animate the northern gentry. They had received commissions from the king; so that they were now doubly authorised to command those, whom at first they could but exhort to defence. Wherever the English inhabitants were embodied, their success discovered the fatal error of their conduct on the first surprize. In Fermanagh, the rebels were forced to raise the siege of Enniskillen; and lord Macguire's own castle was taken by storm. In Tirone, Sir Phelim O'Nial was driven with disgrace and slaughter from the siege of Castle-Derrick. In Donnegal, he received another defeat; his forces were repelled in various attempts, and their leaders returned, in the vexation of repeated disappointment, to his camp at Newry.

YET, not humbled by these petty defeats, and confident in the number of those barbarous followers^f, whom the hopes of plunder were daily alluring to his service, he still determined to strike at the very head of northern loyalty, by investing Carrickfergus. For this purpose, it was previously necessary to reduce Lisburn, a powerful Scottish settlement, (for the pretence of leaving the Scottish settlers unmolested, was soon forgotten). Hither he detached a well appointed body of four thousand. The town had already sustained a violent assault: but, relying on the strength of his party, and his intelligence with the Irish inhabitants, O'Nial was now confident of success. Happily Sir Arthur Ty-

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^f MS. Relation of the fight at Lisnegarvy.

Tyringham had brought a seasonable reinforcement to the garrison; and at the very moment of danger was assisted in his dispositions by the arrival of Sir George Rawdon, an eminent English settler and gallant officer. The attack was violent; it was sustained and repelled with steadiness and vigour; the repeated efforts of the besiegers but increased their confusion, and swelled the numbers of their slain: and this body of rebels, the first that bore the appearance of a regularly formed army, was finally put to shameful flight, and with so great a slaughter, that the English boasted that the number slain in the assault trebled that of the whole garrison.

BUT such successes were attended with consequences truly horrible. The Irish, incensed at resistance, carried on their hostilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was surrendered by Sir William Brownlow, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission of marching out unmolested with his family, goods, and retinue. All were instantly seized, and the whole town given up to plunder. But such instances of perfidy are scarcely to be regarded, when the more enormous barbarities of the rebels obtrude themselves on our view. At every instance of his ill-success, Sir Phelim O'Nial was either transported to the utmost pitch of malicious phrensy, or so alarmed at the well-known instability of his followers, that he determined, with an infernal policy, to plunge them so deep in blood as to render their retreat or reconciliation with government utterly impracticable. On the repulse of his forces at the castle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, Mac-Donnel, to massacre all the British protestants in three adjacent parishes. The defeat at Lisburn provoked this savage and his barbarous followers to a degree

degree of rage truly diabolical. Lord Caulfield, who had been conveyed to one of the houses of O'Nial, was wantonly and basely murdered. Fifty others, in the same place, fell by the poinards of the Irish. Their miserable prisoners, confined in different quarters, were now brought out, under pretence of being conducted to the next English settlements. Their guards goaded them forward like beasts, exulting in their sufferings, and determined on the destruction of those who had not already sunk under their tortures. Sometimes they enclosed them in some house or castle, which they set on fire, with a brutal indifference to their cries, and a hellish triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the captive English were plunged into the first river, to which they had been driven by their tormentors. One hundred and ninety were, at once, precipitated from the bridge of Portadown. Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. The women forgot the tenderness of their sex; pursued the English with execrations, and embrued their hands in blood: even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoners.

THEY, who escaped the utmost fury of the rebels, languished in miseries horrible to be described. Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction, every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of phrensy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous escapes from death, miraculous judgments on murderers, lakes and rivers of blood, marks of slaughter indelible by every human effort, visions of spirits chaunt-

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ing hymns, ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out REVENGE; these, and such like fancies were propagated and received as incontestible.

AN enthusiastic hatred of the Irish was the natural and necessary consequence. The British settlers, who were sheltered in places of security, forgot that their suffering brethren had, in several instances, been rescued from destruction, and protected by the old natives. Their abhorrence was violent and indiscriminate: and it transported them to that very brutal cruelty which had provoked this abhorrence. The Scottish soldiers, in particular, who had reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus, were possessed with an habitual hatred of popery, and enflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated, not only by the sufferers, but by those who boasted and magnified their barbarities. In one fatal night they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district called ISLAND-MAGEE, where a number of the poorer Irish resided, unoffending, and untainted by the rebellion. If we may believe one of the leaders of this party, thirty families were assailed by them in their beds, and massacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. As if the incident were not sufficiently hideous, popish writers have represented it with shocking aggravation. They make the number of the slaughtered, in a small and thinly inhabited neck of land, to amount to three thousand; a wildness and absurdity into which other writers of such transactions have been betrayed. They assert, that this butchery was committed in the beginning of November; that it was the first massacre committed in Ulster, and the great provocation to all the outrages

outrages of the Irish in this quarter. *Mr. Carte seems to favour this assertion. Had he carefully perused the collection of original depositions now in possession of the university of Dublin, he would have found his doubts of facts and dates cleared most satisfactorily; and that the massacre of Island-Magee (as appears from several unsuspicious evidences) was really committed in the beginning of January, when the followers of O'Nial had almost exhausted their barbarous malice.

* His words are these—"Whether the slaughter made by a party
 " from Carricfergus, in the territory of *MAGEE*, a long narrow island
 " running from that town up to Olderfleet, (in which it is affirmed
 " that near three thousand harmless Irishmen, women, and children,
 " were cruelly massacred) happened before the surrender of *Lórgan*,
 " *is hard to be determined: the relations published of facts* in those times
 " being very *indistinct and uncertain* with regard to the time when the
 " were committed; though it is *confidently asserted*, that the said mas-
 " sacre happened in this month of November."——The reader
 of Ireland, who may have curiosity to enquire after those authorities,
 on which I have stated this transaction differently and with more preci-
 sion, will find them among the depositions of the county of Antrim,
 from the middle to the latter part of the volume. MSS. Trin. Col.
 Dub.

C H A P IV.

Conduct of the lords justices.—Intelligence of the rebellion received by the English parliament.—Their resolutions.—Mode and spirit of their porcedure.—Flame of rebellion extended.—State of Munster.—Services of the Earl of Clanricarde in Connaught.—The lords justices recall the arms they had distributed,—repeat their proclamation against any resort to Dublin.—Their insidious manner of offering pardon to the rebels.—They oppose the meeting of a parliament.—Allow a session of one day.—Transactions of the parliament.—Agents sent to the king.—Private representations of the lords justices.—The agents and their papers seized by order of the English commons.—Rebels elated.—Reject overtures of accommodation.—Directed by Roger Moore.—Frame their oath of association.—Provoked by the cruelties of Sir Charles Coot.—March to invest Drogheda.—Animated by their victory at Julian's Town Bridge.—Moor's practices in the Pale at length successful—Meeting and interview at the Hill of Crofty.---Seven noblemen and their adherents of the Pale declare for war.---Lords of the Pale summoned by the state.---Their answer,---Replies.---Addresses of the lords to the king and queen.----They concert their operations.----Proclamation signed by the king.---Insurrection in Munster.---The leaders,----their procedure,----success,---and dissension.---Drogheda invested---Defence of Drogheda neglected by the state.---Unsuccessful attempts to surprize the town.---Skirmish at Swords.---Ormond marches to Naas.---His spirited answer to lord Gormanston's menace.---Reinforcements from England.---Distresses of the army,---Ormond commissioned

missioned to march to the Boyne.---Siege of Drogheda raised.---Ormond forbidden to pursue the rebels.---General disposition of the Pale to be reconciled to government.---Displeasing to the lords justices.---Their prisoners racked.---Motives and consequences of this procedure.---Insurgents of the Pale driven to desperation.---Battle of Kilrush.

DURING the progress of these northern commotions, the lords justices confined their attention to their own security, and that of the capital^h. The numbers of wretched fugitives, who sought shelter in Dublin, from their merciless enemies, exhibited a spectacle of affecting distress, and seemed to demand some vigorous measures for suppressing a rebellion conducted with such virulence. The earl of Ormond, who was appointed lieutenant-general of the army, declared for marching instantly against the rebels, with such forces as might be spared from the defence of Dublinⁱ. A considerable part of the army was assembled; new regiments and companies were raised; the royal magazines sufficiently supplied; the main body of the rebels, which lay in the county of Louth, wretchedly provided and dispirited. Yet the lords justices contented themselves with dispatching Sir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment to secure Drogheda from any attempt of the rebels, who, to the number of four thousand, lay at Athirdee, seven miles distant from this garrison.

IRISH insurrections had been frequently suppressed by such numbers as Ormond now proposed to employ, when the danger was encountered with spirit and alacrity. But the present chief governours
were

^h Temple.

ⁱ Carte's Ormond, and Letters.

were determined against every spirited measure. They pleaded a want of arms to furnish the soldiery; a pretence so false and frivolous, that every military man stood astonished at their supineness. Some imputed it to timidity, and a solicitude for protecting their possessions in the capital. Others imagined, that they envied the earl of Ormond, and dreaded that his success might be rewarded with the lieutenancy of Ireland. They, who looked more nearly into their characters and principles, conceived, and not without reason, that they by no means wished to crush the rebellion in its beginnings, but were secretly desirous, that the madness of the Irish might take its free course, so as to gratify their hopes of gain, by new and extensive forfeitures. Nor did the deeper politicians scruple to insinuate, that these cold and reserved governours acted by directions from the reigning faction of England.

THEIR chief dependence indeed was on the English parliamentk. Owen O'Connolly had delivered his dispatches to the earl of Leicester on the last day of October: they were communicated with great solemnity to the commons; and received with an affectation of terrour and astonishment. A message from the king recommended the affairs of Ireland to his parliament; an expression which they determined to accept in the most extensive sense. The important charge of suppressing a popish rebellion they assumed to themselves; in the first ardour of zeal, they resolved to support the Irish war, by a supply of two hundred thousand pounds. Fifty thousand of this sum were borrowed from the city of London; and out of this loan twenty thousand pounds assigned for the immediate service of Ireland. The commons

mons farther resolved, first, that six thousand, afterwards, that ten thousand, infantry and two thousand horse should be raised for the Irish war. Leicester was empowered to grant commissions for the immediate levy of a part of this force : but the commons insisted, that the list of officers to be employed, should be first laid before the house for their approbation. They resolved, that a convenient number of ships of war should be stationed on the coasts of Ireland ; magazines formed ; and transports provided for the conveyance of men, arms, and ammunition. To the king's council it was referred to consider of some fit way for publication of rewards to those, who should do service in the Irish expedition ; of pardon to those rebels, who should submit within a limited time, and of sums of money to be given for the heads of such of their leaders as should be nominated. At the same time, they directed that all papists of distinction in England should be secured ; that ambassadours should give up those of their popish priests who were subjects of the king : that an account should be taken of those attendant on the queen ; and that all strangers, not of the protestant religion, should immediately return their names, and time of their intended residence, or else depart from the kingdom.

BUT, instead of minutely detailing the proceedings of this famous assembly, it seems sufficient for the present purpose to mark their temper, the general mode and spirit of their procedure, and the influence of these upon the affairs of Ireland.

FIFTEEN memorable years of contest between the unhappy Charles and his subjects, had gradually reduced the state of England to a situation the most

critical. The popular leaders had triumphed over the weakness and instability, and even the obstinacy of the king. If grievances were redressed, they had experienced his insincerity. If their own measures of opposition had been irregular, or strictly illegal, they might hereafter feel the weight of power. They determined to seek their own security by possessing themselves of the sovereignty of the state: they pleaded the necessity of effectually securing the subject, not by circumscribing, but abolishing the royal authority. An enthusiastic passion for the presbyterian discipline was countenanced and encouraged, diffused through all orders of the nation, mixed with all their concerns, and had an especial and violent influence on their political pursuits. The king, who, from inclination and necessity, supported the hierarchy, became doubly odious; and the religious abhorrence of the hierarchy was increased by that support which it afforded to the royal authority. Both were now destined to destruction; and they, who were more moderate politicians, or had not fully imbibed the fashionable spirit of the religion, were to be seduced to a concurrence with designing, artful, or fanatical leaders.

EVERY device was practised to confirm, and enflame the suspicions entertained of the king. The famous REMONSTRANCE was prepared, in which the whole series of misconduct, the long detail of unconstitutional measures adopted by Charles, were collected into one offensive view. Rumours of danger, of conspiracy, of invasion, were industriously propagated. Pretended plots were discovered, and the most extravagant suggestions of fraud or credulity accepted and encouraged. A virulent abhorrence of popery, a dreadful apprehension of popish agents,
and

and their designs, resounded from every quarter. At the very moment when the more moderate part of the nation grew disgusted at fictitious plots, and senseless rumours, intelligence was received of a popish rebellion in Ireland: it was spread abroad with hideous aggravation, and seemed to realize the wildest suspicions and reports of danger. The peculiar guilt of some Irish Catholics was attributed to the whole sect in both kingdoms. The people, ever accustomed to join the prelatical with the popish party, were easily persuaded, that this horrid insurrection was the result of their united counsels. They heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for their violences. Bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to the gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy king with the whole enormity of the contrivance. If the more sober and considerate could not, at once, be persuaded, that Charles had actually given a commission to despoil and murder his subjects, yet such were their unfavourable sentiments of this prince, that they suspected that a rebellion, raised at such a juncture, was not wholly owing to the discontents of the Irish, but had secretly been excited or encouraged by the king to find the parliament employment, and divert them from their designs against his power. With such impressions upon their minds, they saw danger in every proposition made by Charles for suppressing the rebellion of Ireland. His solicitude for the welfare of his loyal subjects of this kingdom, was converted into an insidious scheme of exhausting England of its arms and treasure, and involving the parliament in a war, expensive and embarrassing.

THE commons had frequently encroached on the executive power of the crown; but with regard to

Ireland, they assumed it at once, by virtue of that expression whereby the king recommended to them the care of this kingdom. Had Charles been able to contest this usurpation, it must have exposed him to the reproach of favouring the progress of the odious rebellion.

WHEN the leaders had once formed their project of farther innovations, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with respect to Ireland should be considered as subordinate to that great design on which their power, their security, and their very being entirely depended. They affected the utmost zeal against the Irish insurgents: but the Irish insurgents served as a pretence for securing to themselves a superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. If any violent point was to be gained, the Irish rebellion was a ready instrument of their purposes. If they were opposed in any favourite design, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the popish rebellion of Ireland. If recusants were to be seized, if they were to continue guards about the house of commons, the Irish rebellion was the cause. It was the burden of every petition, for new modelling of religion, for subverting episcopacy, for putting the nation in a state of defence, for removing evil counsellors, for guarding against papists and their adherents.

IN the extremity of that contempt, which the popular leaders entertained for the natives of Ireland, they conceived, that it would be easy, at any time, to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom; nor were they willing to relinquish, by too hasty a success, the advantage, which that rebellion would

would afford them in their intended encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the dependence of every man, who had any connexion with Ireland, or was desirous of serving in this kingdom. They levied money, under pretext of the Irish expedition; but they reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly. They took arms from the royal magazines, but with a secret purpose of employing them against the king. Whatever law they deemed requisite for aggrandizing themselves, was voted under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland. If Charles withheld his assent, the refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels, which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest throughout the king's dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent to Ireland, and little money remitted during the extreme distress of this kingdom, yet such was the general attachment to the commons, that the fault was never once imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but destruction to the Irish rebels.

IN the mean time, the lords justices of Ireland waited within their walls, in expectation of supplies from England; while the flame of insurrection began to spread more widely. The Irish inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, provoked at the extensive English plantation formed on their lands, had soon followed the example of the Northerners. The sept of O'Byrne in the county of Wicklow, still smarting with remembrance of the horrid injustice and persecution they had sustained from Parsons, united with their Irish neighbours in the adjoining counties

ties of Wexford and Carlow. They seized forts, drove the English protestants from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin. The justices had thus an additional pretence for denying any assistance to the distant provinces. In Munster, Sir William Saint Leger, the lord president, a soldier of activity and experience, and possessed even with an inveteracy against the Irish, could not obtain either arms or soldiers sufficient for a time of peace, much less for a juncture of distraction and disorder. Yet the strength of the English protestants, and the loyalty of the Irish gentry, as yet preserved this province from any material disorder.

THE peace and security of Connaught were equally neglected by the chief governours, although the English power was inconsiderable in this province, and the Irish natives kept in continual alarm for twenty-five years, by the project of a general plantation, which, though suspended, had not been formally relinquished. Yet here too the good affections of the principal inhabitants stemmed the torrent of rebellion. Jones lord Ranelagh, the president of Connaught, was effectually assisted by lord Dillon of Costello, and lord Mayo, whom the rebels, in their first conspiracy had claimed as their partizan^m. But the most respected, most powerful, and most effectual friend to government in the western province, was Uliac, earl of Clanricard and Saint Alban's; who, with the old inhabitants, enjoyed the consequence of a chieftain, and with the English, all the reverence and dignity of a great English nobleman, distinguished by his illustrious connexions, by the favour of the king, but chiefly by his own excellent and exalted endowments. He had opportunely retired to his Irish mansion of Portumna.

na, at the first rise of the rebellion; and, possessed with the most delicate sentiments of honour and loyalty, and particularly attached, by personal affection to the king, he exerted himself with especial zeal to preserve the peace of his own county, Galway, and of the neighbouring districts. He found the inhabitants possessed with dreadful apprehensions, that the present commotions of the realm might be used as a pretence for withholding the king's graces, and depriving them of that legal confirmation of their estates, which they had so long expected from the royal promise. He laboured to dissipate these apprehensions, which might have a dangerous influence. He procured a declaration from the king, that all his former promises should be fully performed to every loyal subject. He raised troops, strengthened the fort of Galway, made a progress through the county, inspected every post, encouraged the loyal, terrified the disaffected. But the earl of Clanricarde, with all this zeal and activity, with all the exalted qualities which form a distinguished character, was a Roman catholic, and therefore hated and suspected by the state. Every assistance was denied him, and every occasion seized to mortify and disgust him.

THE lords justices, and their puritanic adherents, were the more encouraged to reject the assistance of all those who were not of their own party, by the spirited assurances of support, which they received from England. The declaration of the English commons for maintaining the war of Ireland, was received with joy, as an earnest of immediate succours, and spread triumphantly through the kingdom. In the insolence of their expectations, the justices immediately recalled those arms which they

they had entrusted to the nobles and inhabitants of the Pale. While they thus left them defenceless, they deprived the best affected of all hopes of refuge from the violence of the rebels and robbers; for they issued a new proclamation, whereby all persons except the ordinary inhabitants, were commanded, on pain of death, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours, and not to presume to approach within two miles of the city. The pretence for this rigorous prohibition was, that by the great concourse to the capital, the country was deprived of defence; its operation, if not indended, could scarcely be unforeseen. It forced the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts to a perpetual intercourse with the rebels, to support them by contributions, and sometimes to unite with them, in order to avert their cruelty.

IN another instance, the conduct of these wretched governours was still more suspiciousⁿ. The parliament of England had recommended the offer of a general pardon to such rebels as should submit within a certain time, to be limited by the lords justices. No proclamation was published, no pardon offered, in consequence of these instructions. To palliate this omission, they pleaded the inefficacy of their former proclamations; the first of which only called on the king's subjects to abandon the rebels, without any positive assurance of mercy: the other offered a pardon, not to the rebels of Ulster, where the insurrection chiefly raged, but to those of Longford and Louth, Meath and West-Meath. In the two last counties no body of rebels had appeared. And, if any outrages or insurrections were to be suppressed, the lords justices contrived to defeat the effect of their pardon, by exceptions and conditions. All
freeholders

freeholders of these four counties, all who had shed blood in any action, all who were in prison for spoil or robbery, were expressly excluded from mercy. To others, it was tendered on condition of their submitting within ten days after the proclamation, and of restoring all the property they had seized, which had quickly been dispersed through various hands. Such a proclamation was evidently absurd and insidious. A pardon, offered in the name of the English parliament, must have had greater influence than any act of an Irish ministry, despised and suspected by the body of the nation. But the chief governours and their creatures were confident of support, and experienced in the art of converting forfeitures to their own advantage.

AGREEABLY to the general tenour of their conduct, they obstinately opposed the sentiments of the wisest and most moderate of all parties in the kingdom, in one particular of especial moment. On the commencement of the rebellion, the Irish parliament, formerly adjourned to November, had been prorogued to the twenty-fourth day of February; a measure highly displeasing to the Catholics. They were impatient for those laws which were to confirm them in their lands, and dreaded that this delay, and the still encreasing power of the popular party in England, might defeat the gracious intentions of the king. For this the Irish insurrection might afford a plausible pretence. All of their communion were considered by the Irish parliament as involved in the guilt of rebellion. It was their interest to seize the earliest opportunity of making some solemn declaration of their loyalty and solicitude for the peace of Ireland: and whether they were sincere or not, it

was both equitable and politic to allow them this opportunity. They urged, that in a time of danger, the national assembly should be immediately convened. Their lawyers suggested, that the prorogation was illegal, and that unless the houses should hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would be really dissolved. The judges seemed to favour this opinion: the earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Costello, and others of approved loyalty, though no favourers of the justices and their faction, contended for an immediate session and continuance of the parliament. They urged the danger of enflaming the public discontents, and of driving numbers into rebellion by any farther suspension of the royal graces; the ease and security with which the parliament might be assembled in a city now so well provided with forces as Dublin; the mortification and discountenance which the rebels must receive from any zealous declarations against their outrages, and any spirited resolutions to oppose them; but above all, the essential service to the state, from the supplies which loyal subjects must cheerfully grant on an emergency so critical, and which even the secretly disaffected would not venture to oppose, lest they should betray their principles at the moment when they were actually in custody of the state.

SUCH remonstrances had little weight with an administration indifferent to public jealousies and complaints, and, if not averse to suppressing the rebellion, at least averse to suppressing it by any resources which Ireland might supply. They declared obstinately for adhering to the prorogation: yet the doubts expressed by the judges, and the force with which the opposite opinion was defended, at length extorted a
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concession, that the parliament should be suffered to meet immediately, for one day, on condition of publishing a protestation against the rebels; and that they should have liberty to depute some of their members to treat about an accommodation with the rebels, to receive their grievances, and to transmit them to his Majesty.

SUCH members of both houses as could be immediately collected, were admitted into the castle of Dublin, when the lords justices had first drawn out their guards, and taken every scrupulous precaution to allay their own fears. The houses proceeding directly to consider the state of the nation and to frame their protestation against the REBELS. The leaders of the insurrection affected the utmost indignation and disdain at this odious appellation. Those members, whose estates lay most exposed to their depredations, were not willing to exasperate them: they who secretly favoured their enterprize, and they who were originally consulted, and had assisted in concerting it, all spoke with lenity and caution: they declared against describing the insurgents by any more offensive designation, than that of the DISCONTENTED GENTLEMEN; and by this suspicious tenderness and indulgence, redoubled the terrour of the chief governours^P. But the protestant party was spirited and powerful, and by their interposition and support, the declaration of parliament was drawn up with sufficient force and precision^Q. It declared,

“ their abhorrence of the DISLOYAL and REBELLIOUS proceedings of persons ill-affected to the peace
 “ and tranquillity of the realm; who, contrary to
 “ their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and against

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“ the

“ the laws of God and of the realm, have TRAITE-
 “ ROUSLY and REBELLIOUSLY raised arms, seized
 “ his Majesty’s forts and castles, dispossessed, spoiled,
 “ and slain his subjects, and committed other cruel
 “ and inhuman outrages:” together with their resolu-
 tion of maintaining “ the rights of his Majesty’s crown
 “ and government of the realm, against the persons
 “ aforesaid, and their adherents; as also, against all
 “ foreign princes and potentates, and other persons
 “ and attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons
 “ aforesaid do not lay down their arms, and sue for
 “ mercy, in such time and manner as by his majes-
 “ ty and the chief governours and council of the
 “ realm, shall be set down, that they will take arms,
 “ and with their lives and fortunes suppress them
 “ and their attempts, in such a way as by his ma-
 “ jesty’s, or the chief governour’s approbation, shall
 “ be thought most effectual.”

HENCE they proceeded to nominate some members
 of each house to treat with the insurgents. They
 were authorised, (directions from the king or the state
 of Ireland being first received) to confer with the
 rebels of Ulster, and other parts, touching the causes
 of their taking arms; to report all matters to the
 king, the council, or the parliament, and to pro-
 ceed therein according to the king’s pleasure, or
 directions of the council. These proceedings could
 not be compleated in one day; a second was, with
 difficulty, allowed: they petitioned for a longer ses-
 sion, but the lords justices were inexorable. They
 promised indeed, that the term of prorogation should
 be shortened: but determined, by practising in Eng-
 land, to elude the performance even of this promise.
 The parliament was provoked; men of every order
 and

and party clamoured against this obstinacy, which discovered a general suspicion of all Irish subjects, and a contempt and disdain of their services. It was resolved to assist the governours even against their will. The parliament empowered them to collect forces, and to assess and levy money for their support.

AT the same time, a considerable party, well affected to the king, sensible that the present insurrection, however unwarrantable, had not been entirely unprovoked, and convinced that it might be speedily suppressed by a timely exertion of that force which Ireland could supply, resolved to convey their sentiments to the royal ear, without the intervention of chief governours, whom they despised and suspected. The lord Dillon of Costello was commissioned to present their memorial to the king, containing grievous complaints against the lords justices, and recommending, that the earl of Ormond should be substituted in their place; a measure most effectual to allay the fears and jealousies of the nation, and to suppress the rebellion, though no assistance should be sent from England. They, also, probably recommended a speedy confirmation of those graces which were to secure the civil interests of the Irish subjects, with other measures for restoring public peace, not entirely agreeable to the views of their present governours, or the passions of the popular party in England.

THE crafty Parsons, and his pliant colleague, were alarmed at this design, and determined to counteract it. Their agent was dispatched to the leaders in the English commons. In a private letter to the earl

earl of Leicester, signed only by themselves and their junto, they declared, that they could not depend on the other members of the council, nor open themselves before them with that freedom which suited their station and duty. They desired that no attention should be paid to the instructions or representations of lord Dillon, or to any counsels tending to possess the king with a persuasion, that his Irish subjects were sufficient to reduce the rebels, a work only to be effected by English forces. They expressed their hopes that the state of England would not be deterred by the expence of an armament necessary to the very being of an English government in Ireland; an expence which would be fully repaid not only by the peace and reformation of this kingdom, but by the great encrease of revenue arising from the estates of those who were actors in the present mischiefs. These representations determined the fate of lord Dillons' embassy. He embarked together with lord Taase; was driven by storm to the coast of Scotland; hasted towards London; and was seized at Ware, by order of the commons, his papers taken away, and industriously suppressed. The two lords were committed to custody, till it was of no consequence to restrain them any longer; when, being negligently guarded, they contrived to escape, and attended the king at York, too late to offer their propositions.

THE rebel leaders quickly discerned the advantage they derived from the prorogation, and were industrious to improve it. Roger Moore, who, with Brian Mac-Mahon, an Irish commander of some note, lay near Dundalk, at the head of about two thousand five hundred ill-armed men, was particularly

larly elevated at the prospect of general discontent and clamour, arising from this repeated disappointment of a people, impatient for a confirmation of the king's graces. The deputation of parliament addressed themselves to him and his associates. He received them with coldness and disdain: the order of the houses for their treaty with the rebels he tore to pieces, with an affected indignation at the injurious terms in which it was expressed; and proudly rejected every overture to an accommodation. The state even deigned to employ some Romish priests to mediate a peace; but, as they probably foresaw, without any good effect. Moore, the great agent and director of the rebels, redoubled his assiduity. He cautiously advised them to suppress all national distinctions, all declarations against the English; to rest the whole merits of their cause on the civil and religious rights of the king's subjects of Ireland, which were to be defended against their numerous enemies only by force of arms. He pointed out the danger which especially threatened their religion. The virulence expressed against popery by the English parliament, their sanguinary prosecution of popish ecclesiastics, their passionate declarations against any tolerance of popish error, in any part of the king's dominions, the terrible denunciations against all of this communion by particular zealots, their intemperate menaces of persecution and extirpation, all served to awaken the fears, and to enflame the resentments of the Irish, and were all pleaded in defence of their hostilities. Moore now dignified his followers by the name of the CATHOLIC ARMY: and published an oath of association to be taken by all insurgents, purposely calculated to possess the nation with favourable sentiments of their cause, their motives, and pursuits.

NOR were the rebels less encouraged by the delay of English succour, and the scandalous timidity of the chief governours. They had thrunk within their walls, and quietly beheld those depredations which had been committed through the whole vicinity of the capital. They were at length forced to some exertion of their powers, by repeated insults. Sir Charles Coote was a soldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, morose, insolent, and cruel, provoked, particularly by the ravages made in his estates, which he acquired by various projects, and impatient to avenge them on the Irish, against whom he had imbibed the most illiberal and inveterate prejudices. This man was employed by the chief governours to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow, which they had invested. He executed his commission; repelled the Irish to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagances of the Northerners. The wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation.

UNDISMAYED, confident, and exulting, notwithstanding their disgraces in the northern province, they drew down a considerable force, in order to form the siege of Drogheda^t. Their numbers struck a general terror, and were encreased by those who were compelled to unite with them, in order to avert their outrages^u. A small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed principally of the despoiled

^t Carte, vol. i. p. 239.

^u 243. Temple.

despoiled English, undisciplined and inexperienced, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda. About three miles from the town, they were suddenly encountered by two thousand five hundred of the rebels^w, and defeated with an inconsiderable loss, except of arms and ammunition. The incident seems scarcely worthy of being recorded. Yet the defeat of Julian's-Town-Bridge, as it was called, had no inconsiderable effect. It gave reputation to the rebels, and added greatly to their numbers. They no longer doubted of reducing Drogheda, and marching with their united forces to invest the capital. Whole companies and regiments of the royal army deserted, and joined their standards. The English inhabitants of Dublin were in consternation; the disaffected party insolent and elevated; men of speculation contended, that if the rebels had collected their forces, and marched directly to Dublin, they must, in the present consternation, have been speedily masters both of the city and castle. But they amused themselves with investing the town of Drogheda; while the justices, in their terror, recalled Sir Charles Coote from his expedition into Wicklow. He forced his way through one thousand of the sept of O'Toole, who opposed his march, returned, was created governour of Dublin, and applied himself to secure this city against every possible attempt.

HITHERTO, the rebellion, however formidable, was confined to the province of Ulster, some few counties in Leinster, and that of Leitrim in Connaught; and carried on, entirely, by the mere Irish. The beginning of the month of December opened a more extensive and alarming scene, by the defection

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of the inhabitants of the English Pale, as it was called.

IF the old English race settled in this district had not entirely disapproved the original scheme of taking arms, they were more refined, and therefore less violent than the mere Irish: they were under the more immediate inspection, and more accessible to the power of government; they were possessed of valuable estates, and, therefore, the more cautious of engaging in any enterprise of violence and hazard. But they had their prejudices and discontents. The lords justices regarded them with suspicion, as Irishmen; with abhorrence, as Romanists. The manner in which they had granted them some arms was ungracious; the recalling these arms provoking: and by excluding them from Dublin, they left their persons and possessions defenceless against the rebels; and, at the same time, deprived them of refuge. To determine them to take arms^x, little more was necessary than to exasperate and enflame their resentments; and, for this purpose, Roger Moore was a powerful, an insinuating, and indefatigable agent.

HE addressed himself particularly to lord Gormanston, a nobleman of especial power and influence, and not unacquainted with the first conspiracy. He had artifice to give the fairest and most captivating colour to the cause in which he was engaged. He represented the danger which threatened all their civil and religious rights: the obstinate determination of a puritanic faction to frustrate all the king's gracious intentions of indulgence to the religion, and security to the possessions, of his Irish subjects; the still
encreasing

encreasing power of this faction in England, and their gradual inroads on the royal authority; the inveteracy they expressed against all Catholics; the insolent and injurious exclusion of Irish students from the inns of court, by virtue of the late edict against foreign Catholics; the horrid severities exercised on their clergy in England; the imminent danger of some sanguinary scheme to extirpate all of their communion. He inveighed, with a well-affected disdain, against the insolence and tyranny of the lords justices, those wretched creatures of the king's enemies, who had filled their coffers by iniquity, were capriciously and wantonly vested with power, and presumed to look down with scorn upon the old nobility of Ireland. He enlarged on the justice, the glory, the necessity of rising in defence of the king's prerogative, and the rights of the people; the fair prospect of success, from the encreasing disorders of England, which must deprive the puritanic justices of all succours, and from the general discontent so justly conceived by all the Irish subjects.

SUCH representations, urgently and repeatedly enforced, at length made their full impression. The inhabitants of the Pale had already rendered themselves obnoxious to the severity of the law, by receiving and entertaining rebels: however they might plead the necessity arising from their situation and circumstances, yet they deemed the present chief governours capable of seizing every rigorous advantage; and persuaded themselves, that their own safety required an immediate concurrence with the insurgents. The defeat of the English convoy near Drogheda was an event sufficient to confirm and hasten their resolution. Lord Gormanston, who

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took the lead in their proceedings, issued an order to the sheriff of Meath to collect the inhabitants of his county. The lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Louth, Dunfany, Trimbleston, Netterville, together with about one thousand principal gentlemen, assembled on an eminence called the hill of Crofty. Here they were met, agreeably to the plan concerted, by Roger Moore, and other rebel leaders, attended by a detachment of their forces. The Meathians advanced; and Gormanston with great solemnity demanded, for what purpose they had entered the Pale in arms. Moore replied, that they had taken arms for maintainance of the king's prerogative, and to make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England. He was again required to declare, whether these were their real motives, without any private or sinister views. On his earnest asseveration of sincerity; Gormanston and his party declared, that they would unite with them for these purposes, and prosecute all those as enemies who should refuse to assist their righteous cause. The interview was closed by the appointment of another meeting to be held at the Hill of Tarah.

THUS did the address and assiduity of Roger Moore prevail over the weak counsels of the lords justices, and at length effected this important union, at the moment when the state deigned to concert some measures for preventing it. About the time of this assembly, letters were dispatched from the justices and council to the nobles of the Pale, requiring their speedy attendance in Dublin, to confer upon the state of the kingdom^z, in this time of danger, and *for no other end*; (as they added in their letters, with a manifest consciousness of being suspected.)

ed.) The justices, in their dispatches to England, assign a reason for this summons; that, on the increasing power of the rebels, and the general weakness and consternation of the loyalists, they hoped, that being for a while assisted by these noblemen, they might gain some respite, until the arrival of their English succours. That they really intended to employ them seems scarcely reconcileable to their former conduct. If, at such a juncture, they meant to seize their persons upon bare suspicion, the consequence was obvious, and must have been intended. The whole Romish party would have taken fire at once, and rushed into the most desperate courses. Possibly they acted with the inconsistency and instability of persons who had no settled scheme of conduct. But whatever were their motives, the catholic lords had already taken their party; and affected to put the most malignant construction on this summons. The principal business of their second meeting was to return an answer to the state. They declared, that their advice for the safety of the kingdom had been heretofore received so unfavourably, that they had reason to conceive their loyalty was suspected: that they were now deterred from waiting on the lords justices and council, by information of certain speeches uttered at their board by Sir Charles Coote, tending to a design of executing a general massacre on the catholics, which determined them to stand on their guard, until they might have assurance of protection; protesting, however, that they would continue faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his Majesty's service.

THIS answer was followed by a proclamation, utterly denying that any expression had been heard, of this horrid import, from Coote or any other person;

son ; disclaiming a design so odious, so impious, as that of massacre ; repeating the summons to the lords, to repair to the council-board ; and assuring them of safety and protection.

BUT these lords had already proceeded too far to retreat ; and, for the interest of their cause, it was necessary to charge the lords justices with insidious designs, and to inveigh against the inhumanity of Coote, their favourite agent. A detachment had been sent to quell some ravagers at Santry, a village on the north of Dublin ; they executed their orders with severity ; and killed some few, without distinction of the innocent and criminal ; the cruelty was imputed to Coote. To chastise some plunderers at Clontarffe, he ravaged and burned the whole neighbourhood ; and particularly set fire to the mansion-house of one King, at the very time he was summoned to appear before the state, with an assurance of protection. It is ridiculous to compare such severities with the barbarous executions of the northern rebels ; yet their new allies of the Pale exclaimed, in such pathetic terms, against these acts of cruelty, that the state deemed it necessary to publish a proclamation, to justify their conduct, and refute malicious calumnies.

THE Catholic lords^a, having thus renounced the authority of government, and determined to recur to arms, thought it necessary, in the first place, to prepare an apology for their revolt, to be transmitted to the king. In this they enlarged on all the injuries they had received from his Irish governours, who had compelled them to unite with the Ulster forces, a body of subjects, who, they were convinced, had
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taken arms only for defence of the royal prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties, religion, estates, and persons of his faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland. To this they added a petition, that his Majesty would make no worse construction of their conduct, than their affection merited, no worse than that of other subjects, who had taken the same measures, on occasions less pressing and afflicting. They entreated him to grant them a free parliament, in which their oppressions might be manifested and redressed: and, in the mean time, to command a cessation of hostilities on either side. By another letter to the queen, they implored her mediation and good offices, for obtaining their just request. They were, at the same time, obliged to take some notice of the last proclamation issued by the chief governours. Their manifesto expressed the utmost respect to the state. They acquiesced in the declaration, that Coote had not been heard to express any intentions of massacre; but insisted, that they had the utmost reason to apprehend the most dreadful consequences from his cruelty. They declared their readiness to attend such commissioners as the lords justices should appoint, (at any place sufficiently removed from the power of Sir Charles Coote,) with whom they would cheerfully confer, on the means for advancing his Majesty's service, and restoring the peace of the kingdom. Hence they proceeded to raise their forces. Without deigning to march under the standards of the Ulster Irish, they levied troops for their own purposes, and chose their own commanders. Lord Gormanston was declared their general in chief; the earl of Fingal general of horse; every barony of Meath was charged with levying and maintaining a number of soldiers; captains were chosen for each district; applotments settled for corn and cattle to be furnished to the army, the avenues to the capital were

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were blocked up, and the farmers strictly forbidden to carry their corn to Dublin.

THE lords justices, in their dispatches to the earl of Leicester^b, expressed the utmost contempt of this defection of the Lords of the Pale, as an event which only added seven persons to the rebels, and who by this open avowal of disloyalty were become less dangerous than they might have proved by dissimulation, and secret correspondence with the Northerners, Yet, as the rebels had originally pleaded the king's commission, and as their associates now professed such zeal for his support and authority, they proposed that a proclamation should be issued against the rebels immediately, in the king's name, but couched in such terms as might not at once wipe away their offence, by laying down their arms; and that twenty copies of this proclamation signed with his Majesty's name, and sealed with his privy signet, might be transmitted, in order to be dispersed through Ireland. The proclamation, in the most explicit terms, pronounced the insurgents to be rebels and traitors against the king, and enemies to the royal crown of England and Ireland; and twice the number required by the justices were signed and sealed by the king^c, and returned to Ireland without any considerable delay*.

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^b Carte. Dec. 14.

^c Jan. 1.

* The real nature of this transaction, which occasioned such a clamour in England, is here stated plainly and truly. The number of copies required by the lords justices, and even the number transmitted by the king, could by no means have answered the purpose of a general notification through the kingdom of Ireland. This the justices must have known: and the extraordinary care which Charles expressed, that not one copy more than forty should be printed, was a circumstance sufficient to raise suspicions in the minds of the English, even if they had not been so enflamed as at this juncture, and so disposed to think unfavourably of the king's secret designs.

BUT however the chief governours affected to despise the defection of these seven lords of the Pale, it was an event of moment. They did not, indeed, at once rush into the excess and outrage of the northern insurrection; they did not even join the standard of Roger Moore, and his less barbarous associates: on the contrary, they laboured to retain their followers under the sole guidance of lord Gormanston. They professed to take arms only in self-defence; to wish, and to solicit a speedy and effectual accomodation. But by this apparent temper and dignity of conduct, by their fair declarations of loyalty, by the zeal which they affected for the redress of grievances, they made a dangerous impression on all the Catholics of Ireland. Their manifestos were sent into Munster, and Connaught, to all the trading towns and sea-ports. Chiefly they insisted on the dangerous conjunction of the Irish governours with the popular party of England; and the dreadful scheme of extirpation formed against all those who should refuse to abandon the Romish communion. Indiscreet and virulent expressions uttered by the justices and their creatures, were industriously propagated, and made a violent impression in the remote quarters of the kingdom.

THE contagion of rebellion was by these means quickly spread through Connaught^d; so that it required all the credit and power of the earl of Clanricarde to preserve his county of Galway untainted. In Munster, the first symptoms of commotion, appeared in some petty ravages and robberies, which were punished by the lord president, Sir William Saint Leger, with a barbarous severity. The dis-

affected remonstrated to Saint Leger on the rigour of his executions; were received with disdain and insolence; pleaded the necessity of self-defence, and declared for war. Lord Mountgarret seized the city of Kilkenny: Waterford was yielded to his son: almost all the relations of the earl of Ormond were involved in the torrent of rebellion; and a report was industriously propagated, that the earl himself only waited a fair opportunity of declaring for the insurgents^e, and had already taken their oath of association. Almost every fort and castle in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in a few days reduced, while the county of Clare was over-run by the O'Briens, in defiance of their chieftain, the earl of Thomond.

IN this sudden and violent commotion, the southern leaders^f, however provoked by the cruelties of Saint Leger, yet expressed a laudable solicitude to preserve both the persons and the fortunes of the English from any outrage. Yet the barbarity of their followers was not always effectually restrained: in the fury of revenge, in the rage of rapine, or the inveteracy of superstitious prejudice, some slaughters were committed. But neither the vices nor the virtues of humanity were confined to one party, or one profession. The fanatic fury of Saint Leger and his train was no less horrid than the most brutal outrages of the rude Irish. If, in the execution of martial law, he spared neither sex nor age; his countrymen frequently expressed a generous indignation and horror at his barbarity. If those of better condition among the insurgents sometimes joined in the rapine of their followers, Lord Mountgarret shot his friend

^e Aphorismical Discovery, MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

^f Carte.

friend to death, when he could not otherwise restrain him from plundering. If some popish ecclesiastics preached their horrid doctrines of blood and massacre, others were known equally zealous to moderate the excesses of war, to protect the English, and to conceal them from the fury of the enemy, even in their places of worship, and under their altars.

WHILE the Irish forces over-ran almost the whole province of Munster, and their leaders were providing for a regular and permanent war, the lord president was abandoned to his own resources. He was indeed, commissioned to raise a new regiment of foot, and two troops of horse: but he was not supplied either with arms, or provisions. He kept at wary distance, without attempting to interrupt the progress of the enemy. Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and all the richest and most important places of the south, lay open to receive them. With the most flattering prospect, and animated hopes of success, they prepared to complete the reduction of Munster: when, happily for the English interest, their leaders were seized with a sudden spirit of disunion and discontent. Maurice lord viscount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of power in the county of Cork, refused to be commanded by Mountgarret, insisted that his county should have its particular general, and was supported in the demand by his numerous partizans. Lord Mountgarret retired in discontent to the county of Kilkenny. The nobility of Munster, left to their own conduct, continued their competitions and disunion, till Saint Leger gained time to arm and discipline his men, to collect and encourage the English, and thus to draw out, early in the spring, such

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a body as opposed the enemy in the field, and saved the province.

DURING these transactions of the south, the Ulster rebels^h, and those who had united with them, from Leinster, were engaged wholly in the siege of Drogheda. The success of this enterprize was to open them a way to the walls of Dublin, and of consequence, to decide the fate of Ireland. The town was by no means strong, or well provided. On the first alarm from the North, the governour, Sir Faithful Fortescue, had received a small reinforcement from lord viscount Moore; he prepared for defence, represented to the state the necessity of an additional succour, and offered even to raise soldiers at his own expence. His zeal was applauded, but he found his services by no means acceptable. Discouraged, and disappointed of supplies, he resigned his command; and Sir Henry Tichburne, a more adventurous officer, was sent to succeed him. The forces which attended the new governour, those raised in the town, and those which escaped from the defeat of Julian's-Town-Bridge, were still thought incompetent for the defence of Drogheda. Lord Moore proposed to raise and maintain six hundred men, until money should be received from England, on condition that they should be afterwards incorporated into a regiment under his command. Ormond approved the proposal, but the lords justices rejected it; and Tichburne was left to maintain this important station as he might.

HAPPILY, the Irish army commenced their enterprize in a season of severity. Neither their skill nor provisions were sufficient for the regular conduct

conduct of a siege. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the necessary instruments of war : they had no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of winter : they were, therefore, forced, instead of making an encampment, to quarter their army in the neighbouring villages, and there to wait any opportunity, which accident or treachery might afford them, to surprise the town. This disposition, how rude soever, was sufficient to reduce the garrison to the most afflicting distress. Twenty thousand men, encompassing the city, cut off all communication and supplies, at a season when an extraordinary provision was required to qualify the soldiery for the hardships of their duty. The men deserted ; the officers were discontented. A small supply of victuals and ammunition was at length sent from Dublin, and received with such an extravagance of joy, that a party of the besiegers, after some fruitless efforts, was admitted into the town, by the treachery of some inhabitants. Had they proceeded with the necessary vigour, they might have easily overpowered a careless and intoxicated garrison : but their own irresolution gave time to Sir Henry Tichburne to collect his men, and to expel the enemy. A second attempt was repelled with equal vigour : and the superior numbers of the besiegers were soon found to be less formidable, than the prospect of famine, and those numerous diseases arising from unnatural and unwholesome sustenance. Sir Phelim O'Nial conceived the utmost hopes from the distresses of the garrison, and hastened to the North to provide forces and artillery for a storm : Tichburne was resolute to endure the utmost distress ; active in skirmishing with the enemy, successful in his excursions for forage and provisions ; so as to be enabled to maintain

maintain the town, until a fresh supply of bread, and four companies of foot were sent to his relief.

THE lords justices, in the mean time, were engaged by an object, to them more interesting than the relief of Droghedaⁱ; the legal conviction of the lords and gentlemen engaged in the insurrection; a measure previously necessary to the forfeiture of their estates. The arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, encouraged them to a little more activity in their military operations. Coote was dispatched to dispossess a party of rebels stationed in the village of Swords. His skirmish was distinguished by the fall of Sir Lorenzo Cary, younger son to lord Falkland, formerly the chief governour of Ireland. The rebels were routed, and the whole adjacent country wasted by fire and sword. Coote fulfilled the commands of state, to pillage, burn, and destroy, with an unfeeling rigour; and, in the execution of martial law, consulted his resentments more than the necessity of the public service. Ormond was detached with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, against the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, collected their chief force, and held their councils. He executed his orders with more humanity and prudence, yet with a severity sufficient to afford the rebel leaders a pretence for complaint. Lord Gormanston remonstrated by letter, against the cruelty of his procedure: if continued, he threatened the earl, that his wife and children should answer it. The reply of Ormond is worthy to be recorded. By permission of the council he wrote to Gormanston: he reproached him with his disloyalty; vindicated his own conduct

duct from false aspersions ; boldly declared his resolution of prosecuting the rebels at the hazard of every thing dear to him, and never to be terrified into any mean disavowal of whatever he should act, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands. " My wife and
 " children," said he, " are in your power. Should
 " they receive any injury from men, I shall never
 " revenge it on women and children. This would
 " be not only base and unchristian, but infinitely
 " beneath the value at which I rate my wife and
 " children."

A SECOND reinforcement from England, of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horse, at length arrived in Dublin, after a tedious interval of expectation. The commanders, Sir Richard Grenville and colonel George Monk, brought neither money nor provisions : so that the encrease of the army aggravated the distresses of the state ; distresses which the lords justices had partly occasioned, by the havock made through all the districts adjoining to the capital. The English soldiers, unused to severities, oppressed with want, and disease, the consequence of unwholesome diet, deserted in considerable numbers ; the more patient and robust supplied their necessities by robbery and plunder. To prevent a dangerous mutiny, it was determined to employ them. Ormond was again commissioned to drive the rebels from a station within seven miles of Dublin, called Kilsalaghen. His orders were to burn and destroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms : but his proceeding was more moderate : nor were these petty excursions deemed by military men sufficiently interesting, when the gallant forces of Drogheda were surrounded by enemies,
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and exposed to the utmost severities of toil and famine.

THE army was now deemed strong enough to raise the blockade of Drogheda; and the disgrace and danger of suffering the rebels to reduce this city were urgently enforced^k. The lords justices, still averse to any vigorous operations, affected to dread the numbers of the enemy, not composed of ordinary or mercenary men, but of noblemen, gentlemen, their tenants and dependents, all engaged voluntarily and zealously in the insurrection. Such representations were plausible to the English officers, not so well acquainted as the chief governours with the real character of the Irish, their instability, and readiness to abandon their leaders, on the least reverse of fortune. And if the attempt seemed dangerous, the consequences of a miscarriage were highly alarming. The justices, however, could not deny the necessity of sending the soldiers from Dublin, to seek provision in the quarters of the enemy. It was resolved, instead of making a formal attempt to relieve Drogheda, to try the effect of a diversion. The earl of Ormond was commissioned to lead three thousand foot, and five hundred horse towards the river Boyne, and to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and he was strictly enjoined, on no account, to pass the river. Scarcely had the justices granted this commission, limited with such abundant caution, when they repented; and employed their agent, but in vain, to persuade the earl to relinquish the enterprize, and commit the soldiers to the guidance of Sir Simon Harcourt.

W H A T E V E R

WHATEVER were the professions of the chief governours, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels. The futility of their pretences and affected fears was instantly discovered. Sir Phelim O'Nial had been repeatedly foiled in his attacks, by the vigour of Sir Henry Tichburne: numbers of his men, and some of his bravest officers, had been lost by the spirited sallies of the garrison: his hopes were confounded: his adherents dismayed: and the very first intelligence of Ormond's march determined him to raise the siege, and retire precipitately to the northern province¹. This extraordinary event was conveyed by Ormond to the lords justices. He represented the necessity of pursuing the rebels vigourously in this their consternation; desiring, for this purpose, that his commission might be enlarged, and that he might be permitted to continue his march to Newry. The justices and their creatures received the intelligence with evident vexation and disappointment. They were provoked at the overture of the earl of Ormond: they repeated the injunction, that he should not pass the Boyne, without deigning to offer any reason for this unaccountable restriction. On his arrival at Drogheda, he conferred with the officers of the garrison: with their concurrence, he made another effort to be permitted to confirm the total overthrow of the rebels, and to crush their enterprize at once, by a vigorous pursuit: but the chief governours were inexorable. The rebels soon recovered from their consternation, collected their men, regained the places they had abandoned; so that Sir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the return of Ormond, to exert his utmost vigour to prevent

Drogheda from being again invested. He defeated a considerable party of the enemy near Athirdee; and, as no positive restriction had been laid on his conduct, he marched to Dundalk, and drove the rebels from this town. The justice condescended to permit the earl to furnish him on this occasion with five hundred men: but denied him the provisions necessary for pursuing his advantage.

THIS sudden flight of the northern rebels was attended by a circumstance highly displeasing to the lords justices, and repugnant to the private schemes and wishes of their party^m. The insurgents of the Pale had, for the most part, affected to stand separate from the Irish of Ulster: they were offended at their insolence, and shocked at their barbarities. Their dastardly retreat, at the very first alarm of danger, confirmed the suspicions entertained of these allies. Several gentlemen of the Pale were suddenly awakened by this incident, to a sense of their own temerity; resolved to submit, and solicited to make their peace with government. They addressed themselves to Ormond, on his march to Drogheda. The earl in his dispatches desired instructions, in what manner he was to treat those who surrendered: and as the justices, in the proclamation whereby they declared certain persons to be rebels, had forbore to mention the names of any peers, he required a particular direction as to the execution of his orders for burning and destroying; and whether he was to shew the same deference to the seats and possessions of these lords, as the state had already vouchsafed to their persons.

EXTENSIVE forfeitures were the favourite object
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of the chief governours and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the escheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the rebellion of Ireland; and they had lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus expected to escheate. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for suppressing of the rebels, (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. It evidently tended to exasperate the malecontents, and to make all accommodation desperate: but it was not on this account less acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foresaw, and regretted these consequences; but he was reduced to an humiliating state of submission; and consented to a bill which gave strength to his opponents. Their creatures in the administration of Ireland proceeded, at the same time, indefatigably, in procuring indictments, not only against open rebels, but those whose conduct had been at all suspicious: and the fury of their prosecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale*.

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* If this severity was not dictated by the popular leaders in the English commons, it was at least highly acceptable to them, and favourable to their design. Some reasons, however, were to be assigned for it, and these are industriously collected, in a letter of the justices to the earl of Leicester, lord Lieutenant. They are drawn from consideration of the mistaken lenity of the state on former rebellions; the extent and inveteracy of the present; the aversion of the Irish to the nation and religion of the English; the necessity of establishing the British power in Ireland upon a firm basis, and of perfecting such a general plantation through the whole kingdom, as had been established by the late king in Ulster. The letter, however addressed to the lord lieutenant, was really intended for the English commons, and contained their favourite principles and topics with respect to Ireland. These zealous reformers had formerly accused lord Stafford of advancing that traitorous position, that Ireland was a conquered country. Now, it is urged and
accepted

THEY who had not engaged in actual hostilities, they who were only accused of harbouringⁿ, or paying contributions to the rebels, crowded to the earl of Ormond, and claimed the advantage of the royal proclamation. The lords justices, who not only favoured the designs of their friends in England, but expected to have their own services rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, resolved to discourage these pacific dispositions, Ormond was directed to make no distinction between noblemen and other rebels, to receive those who should surrender only as prisoners of war, and to contrive that they should be seized by the soldiers, without admitting them to his presence. They who were sent, in custody, to Dublin, though men of respectable characters and families, engaged in no action with the rebels, some, sufferers by their rapine, averse to their proceedings, known protectors of the English, were all indiscriminately denied access to the justices, closely imprisoned, and threatened with the utmost severity of law.

THERE is little doubt, but that Parsons at least, the more active and intriguing governour, held a regular correspondence with some popular leaders in the English commons, by means of a trusty agent dispatched for this purpose to London. The war between Charles and his parliament was on the point of flaming out in all its violence. His adversaries redoubled their assiduity to alienate the affections of the

accepted, as an heinous charge against the Irish insurgents, that to exonerate their rebellion, they had presumed to assert that Ireland was not a conquered country. Such is the ease with which statesmen can affirm or deny the same general positions just as their immediate purpose requires!

the people from this unhappy prince. He had repeatedly expressed the utmost ardour for the service of Ireland: he had proposed to march in person against the Irish rebels^o. But what the noble historian acknowledges, did not escape the sagacity of his enemies, that this overture was nothing more than “ a stratagem, to compose the houses to a better temper, upon the apprehension of the king’s absence, and the inconveniencies that might thence ensue”. To efface the impressions made by his declarations of zeal, a bold effort was to be made, to revive the rumour of some commission or allowance clandestinely granted to the rebels.

THE Irish chief governours were the willing agents in this design. They were at the same time, impatient for some interesting discoveries relative to the extent of the original conspiracy, and, if possible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of first contriving and concerting the insurrection. For these purposes, they resolved to supply the want of legal evidence, by putting some prisoners to the rack. They began with Hugh Mac-Mahon, who had been seized on the information of O’Connolly, and from whom they expected some important discoveries^p. But torture could force nothing from him essential to their great purpose. “ He had been told that application was to be made to the king for a commission: he had been promised, that such a commission should be produced; but he had never seen any commission:” such were the nature and substance of his answers. Sir John Read was then racked^q. He had been gentleman of the privy-chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raised against the Scots. He had been chosen

^o Clarendon. Reb. vol. I. p. 193.
Col. Dub.

^p MS. Clogher. Trin.

^q Carte.

chosen by the inhabitants of the Pale, on their taking arms, to convey their remonstrance to the king; had given notice of his intended journey to the lords justices, was invited by them to repair to Dublin, and confer with the council; was the first to inform Ormond of the flight of the Northerners from Drogheda; had been conducted by his order to Dublin; but was instantly imprisoned: the letters addressed to his Majesty were seized, and carefully suppressed: and now he was importuned on the rack, with such interrogatories as tended to criminate his royal master. The malice of the justices was again disappointed; but not yet exhausted or discouraged. Patrick Barnewal was their next victim; a gentleman venerable for his age, and respectable in his character. His only guilt was, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and been appointed by the insurgents to a command, without ever acting, or uniting with the rebels. He endured the torture with so steady an avowal of his innocence, and such abundant evidence was offered in his favour, that the justices were ashamed of their cruelty: and, to make some amends to the unhappy gentleman, he was permitted to reside in Dublin, and his estate protected from the general havock of the soldiery.

ALTHOUGH the king's character and conduct had not been materially impeached by these severe proceedings, yet the popular partizans of England derived some advantage from them. The examinations of the prisoners, or such parts of them at least as the justices thought fit to be selected, were carefully transmitted to the English parliament. Rumours were spread abroad, that they contained intelligence of great moment, and highly reflecting on the king's honour. But no particulars were divulged. None
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of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to a view of these examinations. His secretary applied in his name to the lords justices for copies: but they were totally devoted to his enemies, and forbore to communicate them to the king. The people were, in general, too violent, and too prejudiced, to perceive, that this extraordinary reserve was really a proof that no charge of authorising or countenancing the rebels had been established against Charles.

IT was natural for the king, on such an occasion, to express the greater zeal for the service of his good subjects of Ireland. By a message to the two houses of parliament^t, he formally declared a firm resolution of going with all convenient speed to Ireland, to chastise those detestable rebels; of raising a guard for his person, and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses, if necessary, for this service. The lords justices were alarmed: they sent the most discouraging representations to his Majesty of the weakness and distresses of the army of Ireland, and the exhausted state of the country, where, they plainly insinuated, that the king could not appear with safety to his person, comfort to his subjects, and terror to his enemies. But the peremptory and insulting answer of the English parliament, and the menaces with which they insisted that his design should be relinquished, had a still greater effect. The king's declarations of marching against the rebels were no longer heard, but in his replies to the parliament.

THE last hopes, which the gentlemen of the Pale conceived of an equitable accomodation with government, were from the expectation of the king's presence

fence in Ireland. These hopes were now defeated. They had precipitately involved themselves in the guilt of rebellion. Every possibility of retreat was rendered desperate by the treatment of those who had already surrendered. The favourite object both of the Irish governours and the English parliament, was the utter extermination of all the catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out, and allotted to their conquerours: so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin^f. Lord Gormanston was so affected by the melancholy state to which he had principally reduced himself, his family and friends, that grief soon put a period to his life. His associates grew desperate and violent, abandoned all thoughts of treaty or pardon, and relied solely on their arms.

THEIR Ulster confederates had abandoned them: they, therefore, united with the lord Mountgarret and his associates, and soon brought the courage of the royal forces to a tryal seemingly dangerous and desperate.

THE earl of Ormond, with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and five field pieces^t, was detached into the county of Kildare, to destroy the possessions of rebels; to relieve the castles still encompassed by their scattered parties; and to strengthen the loyal garrisons. Such were the petty expeditions which suited the genius and views of the chief governours. On his return to Athy, he received intelligence that Mountgarret, attended by the lords Dunboyne and Ikerrin, Roger Moore, Hugh Byrne, and other rebel-leaders of Leinster, lay at the head of eight thousand foot, and some troops of horse,

^f Carte.

^t Ibid.

horse, posted to advantage, at a distance of four miles. It was resolved in a council of war, that, as their numbers were diminished by garrisons, harassed, encumbered, and ill-provided, they should by no means hazard an engagement, unless the enemy should oppose their march to Dublin. They proceeded on their march with the necessary precautions, and were so closely pressed by the rebels, that an engagement became unavoidable. But the spirit of the Irish seemed exhausted in the boldness of their attack. Their left wing was broken by the first charge: their right, animated by their principal leaders, maintained the contest for some time, retired in good order to a neighbouring eminence, but here broke at once, and fled precipitately. Seven hundred of their number were killed, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the English. The victory was rendered of consequence, by the total dispersion of the rebel-forces: but Ormond had neither provisions nor ammunition necessary for improving it.

AN account of this action, called the battle of Kilrush, was transmitted to the English commons, and published with great solemnity. Their encomiums on the earl of Ormond were speedily followed by an order of their house, that five hundred pounds should be expended on a jewel to be bestowed on his lordship; and that the lords should be moved to unite with them in a petition to the king, that his majesty would be pleased to create him a knight of the Garter.

C H A P V.

Distress of the kingdom.—State of Leinster,—of Connaught,—of Munster.—Death of Saint Leger.—He is succeeded by lord Inchiquin.—Lord Forbes.—His procedure—Battle of Liscarrol.—Monroe and his Scottish forces arrive in Ulster.—Cruelty and consternation of the rebels. Inactivity of Monroe.—Earl of Antrim seized.—Sir Phelim O’Nial defeated.—Loyalists of Ulster restrained by the earl of Leven.—Rebels distressed.—They prepare to abandon Ireland.—Prevented by the arrival of Owen O’Nial.—Arrival of the earl of Leven.—His sudden return to Scotland.—Superiority of the rebels.—Arrival of Preston and his forces.—Synods of the Romish clergy.—Their ordinances.—Supreme council, and general Assembly of Kilkenny.—Their order of government, and oath of association.—They chuse provincial generals.—They petition the king and queen.—Discontent and death of Roger Moore.—Loyalty of the earl of Clanricarde.—Earl of Castlehaven unites with the confederate Irish.—Practices of the English parliament with the army of Ireland.—Defeated by the earl of Ormond, who is created a marquis.—Practices of the lords justices,—of Reynolds and Goodwin.—Discontents of the military officers.—Their complaints conveyed to the king—Situation of Charles.—He is disposed to an accommodation with the rebels.—His commission for receiving their propositions. Opposed by the lords justices.—Spirited orders of the king.—Ormond declines the post of lord lieutenant.—His first treaty with the confederate Irish.—Their pride.—They are made more tractable.—A meeting appointed

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ed at Trim.--Progress of the treaty displeasing to the lords justices.---They project an expedition.---Ormond takes the command of it.---Battle of Rofs.---Distress of Dublin.---Interview at Trim.---Complaints and demands of the Irish.---Their remonstrance transmitted to the king.---Opposed by the lords justices.---Their violences.---Sir William Parsons removed from the government.--The king orders a treaty of cessation.---Circumstances of the kingdom justify this measure.---Expedient of the new justices for support of the army.---Progress of the treaty with the Irish.---Cautious procedure of the marquis of Ormond.---He is disgusted with the pride of the Irish.---Suspends the treaty.---Endeavours to come to an engagement with Preston,---but in vain.---The king renews his orders for a treaty of cessation.---Parsons and his associates imprisoned.---The old Irish averse to any treaty.---The more moderate of the confederacy prevail.--Treaty of cessation signed,---odious to many in Ireland and England.---Declaration of the English parliament against the cessation.

EVERY part of Ireland was now exposed to the miseries of a wasting war, carried on in the usual course of Irish wars, in times more remote and barbarous^u. The insurgents in different quarters followed their respective leaders, without any general union, command, or direction, or any scheme of general enterprize. We are obliged to view them separately in the different provinces; nor shall we find, in any of these such extensive and important operations as merit a particular detail.

IN Leinster, the loyal inhabitants were still harassed by detached parties of the rebels^w, who ravaged

^u A. D. 1642.

^w Borlase,

their possessions, and besieged their castles. The arrival of lord Lisle, son to the earl of Leicester, with nine hundred men, encouraged the chief governours to make some effort to repress these outrages. The lady Offaly* was relieved, in her castle of Geafell; Sir John Gifford in Castle-Jordan; the rebels were driven from Trim: the state reluctantly consented to station an insufficient garrison in this town, which was attacked by a numerous body of the rebels. In repelling them Sir Charles Coote, their inveterate enemy, was slain; an incident not displeasing to the chief governours, who dreaded his enterprising spirit, and were still anxious to prevent a too vigorous prosecution of the rebels^x. The extreme caution of their proceedings against a necessitous and frequently-defeated enemy, was encreased, and in some sort justified, by the present circumstances of their army. Every petty detachment sent from England served to aggravate the distresses of the soldiery, by lessening their scanty provisions. The officers clamoured for their arrears; the men, without pay or cloathing, weakened by unwholesome diet, marching through hard and craggy roads, with their feet bare and bleeding, sunk, in great numbers, under

* This lady was a daughter of the house of Kildare, and reliet of Sir Robert Digby. The title of Offaly properly belonged to the eldest son of the earls of Kildare; but she assumed it by special favour of king James. Her answer to the summons of the rebels was conveyed in a letter not unworthy to be recorded.

“ I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty’s authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore, cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety. And, therefore, my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently; and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Though I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet, being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me.

LETTICE OFFALIA.”

under their misery and fatigue. The more robust survivors grew mutinous. The troops lately arrived shared the common distress, but with greater impatience. In the peevishness of disappointment, they insulted the old army; they reproached them as Irishmen and rebels; and such vulgar pride frequently produced alarming quarrels. But as the state could not pay their soldiers, it was impossible to restrain them within the bounds of discipline. In this situation of affairs, an Irish parliament sat for three days in Dublin. By expelling the members actually in rebellion, and by excluding those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, they were reduced to an inconsiderable number. Yet they breathed the utmost fury against the Romish party, declared for a rigorous execution of penal statutes, and urged, both to the king and English parliament, the necessity of new and severe laws against recusants. The English parliament echoed these sentiments. The bills were prepared for transmission, and the utmost vengeance denounced against popery; as if their sole purpose were to exasperate the insurgents to the utmost, or as if they had been already completely reduced.

CONNAUGHT had been kept tolerably quiet, by the prudence of Lord Ranelagh the president, and the authority and diligence of the earl of Clanricarde, till the defection of the Pale enflamed the discontented spirits of this province. Mayo and Roscommon were now infested by insurgents; a body of savage Irish issued from a mountainous tract, called Ire-Connaught, and harrassed the loyal districts: even the town of Galway betrayed its disaffection, and, under pretence of injuries received from the governour, besieged the fort, and reduced the
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English garrison to distress. The earl of Clanricarde hastened to their relief; and although his force was utterly unequal to that of the citizens and their associates, he yet contrived to terrify them into an accommodation. It was agreed, that all hostilities should be suspended, and that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection, until his royal pleasure should be known. This event served to discourage the western rebels, and disposed them to desire a like cessation; which was recommended by Clanricarde as a means of giving them some leisure to reflect on their precipitate conduct, to recal them to their allegiance, and to prevent the desolation of the kingdom. But the chief governours were actuated by different motives. They severely condemned the protection granted to Galway: their orders were express and peremptory, that the earl should receive no more submissions: every commander of every garrison was ordered not to presume to hold any correspondence with Irish or papists; to give no protections, but to prosecute all rebels and their harbourers with fire and sword. In the execution of these orders, the justices declare, that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children*. A violent and positive agent, of the parliamentary faction, laboured, by instruction, or at least with the connivance of government, to break the late pacification of Galway, and to provoke the citizens to renew their hostilities,

* By such severities, the names of Grenville, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, became as odious to the Irish, (and with equal reason) as those of O'Reily, Macwire, or O'Nial had been to the English. Among the several acts of public service performed by a regiment of Sir William Cole, consisting of five hundred foot and a troop of horse, we find the following hideous article recorded by the historian Borlase, with particular satisfaction and triumph.

Starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by this regiment——Seven thousand.

ilities. Clanricarde was irritated, but his diligence in the service of the crown by no means relaxed. The insurgents grew desperate, and threatened the whole province with their tumultuous numbers. The lord president was besieged in the city of Athlone. But a small sum of money, and some additional forces sent from England, emboldened the lords justices to dispatch the earl of Ormond to his relief. At his approach the enemy retired: the justices, who dreaded that the earl might proceed to some exploits of real moment, recalled him hastily to Dublin.

IN Munster, Sir William Saint-Leger, the lord president, was reduced to the most alarming difficulties: without arms or provisions for his soldiers; and his soldiers, even if well-appointed, yet utterly insufficient to defend the province. The rebel leaders had been reconciled, and joined by lord Muskerry, a branch of the noble Irish family of Clancarthy. The president, notwithstanding a reinforcement of one thousand men received from England, was obliged to seek shelter in Cork, was besieged, and on the point of being overwhelmed, when the action of Kilrush served to weaken and dispirit his assailants. He sallied out, and routed the besiegers; but scarcely could provide subsistence for his soldiers, far from being enabled to lead them against a flying enemy. He heard of the reduction of the fort of Limerick by the rebels, a station of the first consequence in the kingdom. Mortified, disappointed, and deserted, he suffered his vexations to prey too violently upon his spirit. A lingering malady, the effect of anguish, at length put a period to his life; and the command of the province devolved on lord Inchiquin, a nobleman of the illustrious house of O'Brien.

INCHIQVIN had the same difficulties to encounter^z, and the same zeal for the royal service. He repeatedly solicited the English parliament for supplies; and at length received ten thousand pounds, a sum just sufficient to keep his forces from perishing, without enabling them to take the field. The arrival of lord Forbes at Kinsale with twelve hundred men, seemed to promise some auspicious events. He had been appointed by the English parliament, without participation of the king, to command some forces raised by contributions of the adventurers. Fully possessed with the puritanic spirit, and influenced by the fanaticism of his chaplain, the famous Hugh Peters, he disdained to unite with the Irish, however loyal, or with any, not of the GODLY. After some depredations, in which he made no distinction between rebels and royalists, and after sustaining some loss and disgrace in his excursions, he re-embarked, and proceeded to the bay of Galway. With the utmost intemperance and extravagance of conduct, he pointed his hostilities chiefly against those who were most distinguished by their loyalty; he laboured to break the late pacification of Galway, and to reduce the citizens to a new species of submission: to acknowledge themselves rebels, and to beseech his Majesty to intercede with the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND for their pardon, and to admit no governours but such as the king AND THE STATE OF ENGLAND should appoint. But neither his intrigues nor his military operations were successful. Without performing any service against the rebels, or deigning to act in concert with the loyal commanders, he again retired having first, saith Mr. Carte, defaced St. Mary's church, dug up the
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the graves, and burned the coffins and bones of those who lay interred, with a senseless fury, fit only to make his own memory detested, and afford occasion for seditious spirits to enflame the people.

IN the mean time, Inchiquin lay at Cork, struggling with his difficulties, and scarcely able to procure subsistence for his garrison; as the enemy proceeded to reduce the forts and castles of the province, he found himself in danger of being speedily blocked up, and starved in his quarters. To prevent it, he resolved to hazard an engagement with the rebels, notwithstanding their superiority. With the troops of the earl of Cork, commanded by his sons the lords Kynalmeaky and Broghill, and the forces raised by the earl of Barrymore, he contrived to form a little army of about two thousand; and, although his men were considerably weakened by their distresses, yet relying on that want of skill and discipline which generally prevailed in an Irish army, he ventured to march against the rebels. He found them posted advantageously near a castle called Lisfearrol, which they had just reduced, to the number of seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The contest was for some time supported with spirit, but at length decided in favour of the royalists. Their loss was inconsiderable, though embittered by the fall of lord Kynalmaeky. The rebels were pursued without mercy; and, in their flight, spread a general consternation through all their adherents. The only advantage which lord Inchiquin gained by this success, was that of dividing his forces into several garrisons, and procuring them a miserable subsistence.

WE are now to return to the northern province;
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the first scene of commotion^a, and where the power of the rebels was still considerable. The contests between the king and commons, the differences between the two houses of parliament, and, possibly, the artifice of popular leaders who wished to foment the Irish insurrection, protracted the treaty for sending Scottish forces into Ireland. At length, however, it was resolved to accept the assistance of Scotland. Two thousand five hundred men were destined for the immediate service of Ulster. On their arrival, the town and castle of Carricfergus were to be surrendered into their hands, and when the residue of ten thousand men, the number stipulated with the Scottish commissioners, should land in Ulster, they were to be invested also with the town and castle of Colerain. To these conditions the king reluctantly submitted: and to do the greater honour to those auxiliaries, the sole and uncontrouled conduct of the northern war was committed to the Scottish generals.

ABOUT the middle of April, the first detachment landed at Carricfergus. Their commander, Robert Monroe, was instantly joined by some of the provincial forces, amounting to eighteen hundred foot and seven troops of cavalry. The whole body advanced to Newry: at their approach the rebels abandoned the town; and the reduction of the castle was speedily effected. That of Carlingford was delivered up to Sir Henry Tichburne. The tumultuary followers of the rebel-leaders shrunk^b, with their usual instability, from the first appearance of danger. Sir Phelim O’Niel finding it necessary to abandon Armagh, in the rage of disappointment set fire to the town, while his brutal train wrecked their barbarity

^a Carte. Orm.

^b Depositions, MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

barity on those wretched English who were in their power^c. For the present, O'Nial retired to Charlemont, though with little hopes of maintaining this post, as he was destitute of ammunition. Many of his followers fled to the fastnesses of Tirone; and even several distinguished rebels abandoned their houses, and concealed themselves in different retreats.

MONROE was earnestly pressed to seize the advantage of this general consternation of the rebels, to pursue them vigourously before they should recover from their terrour, and receive supplies from abroad. The speedy and effectual suppression of the northern rebels must have enabled the loyalists of Ulster to relieve the other provinces, where the forces of government were weak and distressed, and the rebels better armed and ordered than in the North. It was an enterprize suited to the military genius of his nation. But Monroe had his secret instructions. Having put sixty men and eighteen women to death at Newry, he left three hundred men to garrison the town, and returned to Carricfergus. Hence he again made an excursion into the county of Antrim. No enemy appeared: but the earl of Antrim, though zealous against the rebels, was a papist and a cavalier; reasons sufficient for wasting his lands, and seizing his person. The latter was affected in a manner not unusual in the earlier and more barbarous times. Monroe, with an appearance of amity and respect, visited the earl at his castle of Dnnlace; was hospitably received; but, at the conclusion of an entertainment, gave the signal to his followers. The earl was made prisoner, his castle seized, and all his houses committed to the custody of the Scottish forces.

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Two months wasted in total inaction^d, or the most frivolous enterprizes, revived the spirit of the rebels, recalled them from their retreats, and enabled them once more to collect their forces. The charge of opposing them now devolved on the English forces of Ulster; for the Scots were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent districts, and exporting vast herds of cattle into Scotland. Sir Phelim O'Nial appeared once more at the head of an army; but was bravely encountered by Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, two English commanders. After a sharper action than had hitherto been fought in Ulster, the rebels were driven to flight, with the loss of five hundred slain, many wounded, and a number of prisoners. It was proposed to prosecute this advantage, but the English were distressed and necessitous, and Monroe refused his assistance. Some loyal English officers, provoked at this unaccountable reluctance, resolved to struggle with their difficulties, and to try what might be effected by their own efforts. They reduced some forts occupied by the rebels, and were preparing to extend their operations, when their ardour was effectually repressed by a mandate from the earl of Leven, now preparing to embark with the main body of Scottish auxiliaries: his orders were, that no man should besiege any place, or station a garrison in any town of Ulster, but by permission of the Scottish commanders.

THIS apparent horror of putting too speedy a conclusion to the war, must immediately have been attended with the most pernicious consequences, had not the rebels been dispirited by ill success, and in want of every necessary for the prosecution of their
enterprize

^d Ibid.

^e Carte. Orm.

enterprize. Such was their dejection, that when Monroe, in the month of July^f, at length shewed some disposition to proceed more vigourously, the Irish chieftains held their council, and resolved to abandon a cause rendered utterly hopeless by repeated defeats and disappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemy. In this moment of desperation, intelligence was received that Owen O'Nial, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, was landed in the county of Donnegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes instantly revived; a body of forces was appointed to attend their favourite general, and conducted him triumphantly to the fort of Charlemont.

OWEN O'NIAL, had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies, with reputations. He was governour of Arras, when the French besieged this town in 1640; and, though obliged to surrender upon honourable terms, yet his defence gained him the respect even of his enemy. Experience had formed him to an able and skilful soldier; quick in discerning, diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprizing; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in that service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they were contrasted by the ignorance and rudeness, the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. To the secret mortification of this his kinsman, Owen was unanimously

^f Carte. Orm.

^g Carte. Orm.

mously declared, by the northern Irish, head and leader of their confederacy.

THE new general began with expressing his detestation of those barbarities exercised by sir Phelim O'Nial and his brutal followers. The remains of their prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk; he inveighed with unusual warmth against those, who had disgraced their cause by murder and massacre; he set fire to the houses of some more notoriously guilty, and declared, that he would join with the English rather than suffer any such wretches to escape their just punishment. As he expected to be speedily besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation necessary for defence. But the Scottish forces still lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him; so that he had full leisure to collect and discipline his men. At length the earl of Leven arrived in the month of August, and increased the Scottish army to ten thousand men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse: so that Leven, who had the sole command of this body, seemed to have nothing more to do, but march against an enemy unable to resist him, to crush them at once, and hunt their miserable remains from every part of Ulster. He passed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. Hence he addressed a letter to Owen O'Nial, expressing his concern, that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland for the maintenance of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had better reasons to come to the relief of his country, than his lordship could plead for marching into England against his king: and, as if this short correspondence had been the sole object of his march. Leven again retired, and delivering up the army to Monroe

Monroe, whom he warned to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O'Nial should once collect an army, he returned to Scotland. A conduct so extraordinary was by the Irish naturally imputed to cowardice, and inspired them with contempt of the Scottish enemy. Monroe remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his forces; while the army which should oppose him, Scottish and English, the troops raised by parliament, and those commissioned by the king, were all alike neglected by England, and soon obliged to struggle, in their respective quarters, with the miseries of nakedness and famine.

THUS were the rebels in every province of Ireland suffered to collect and encrease their force, to possess stations of strength and consequence^h, in some places to confine the English within narrow bounds, while they themselves ranged at large, and had free possession of the open country. The defeats, which their parties received from the loyalists, were of less prejudice to their cause, as the enemy could not improve their advantage, but suffered them to re-assemble and repair their losses. To encrease their confidence, a second, and more important, embarkation was made for their support at Dunkirk. Wexford was in their possession. Two vessels first arrived in the port laden with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of lord Gormanston, a soldier of experience, and reputation, soon followed in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and six other vessels laden with ordnance for battery, field pieces, and other warlike provisions, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together

gether with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and assured of farther succours.

THE English were justly alarmed. While they laboured under various wants and distresses, the enemy was abundantly supplied with every necessary for war. They were masters of the sea; and by intercepting several ships laden with provisions, as they passed through St. George's channel, gave a fatal interruption to the commerce between Chester and Dublin, and encreased the scarcity already felt severely in the capital. It was expected, that the rebels would immediately proceed to some vigorous operations; and supplies were instantly dispatched to some forts more immediately exposed to danger. But the Irish were, for the present, engaged in the execution of a scheme some time since concerted, to give a form of authority to their procedure, so as to unite their associates in the several provinces, and to enforce obedience and submission. The authority of their clergy had been already employed. The popish prelate of Armagh first summoned his clergy to a synod. They declared the war of the Irish to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all persons to unite in their righteous cause: at the same time, they made constitutions against plunderers and murderers. But it was soon deemed necessary to proceed yet farther. A general synod was convened of all the Romish clergy of Ireland, which sat at Kilkenny in the month of May.

THE acts of this assembly were more numerous and solemn ⁱ. They began with the war maintained
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by the Catholics against sectaries and puritans, for defence of the Catholic religion, the prerogative of the king, the honour and safety of the queen and royal issue, the conservation of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and of their own lives and fortunes, to be just and lawful. They disclaim all belief or acceptance of any letters or proclamations published in the king's name, until their own agents should be assured of his real will and intentions. They direct, that all their confederates should be united by an oath of association, and denounce sentence of excommunication on all who should refuse to take it, against all neuters, against all who assisted the enemy, against all who should invade the possessions of any Catholic, or any Irish protestant, *not adversary to their cause*. They forbid all distinctions and comparisons between the old and new Irish; direct, that exact registers be kept in every province, of the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans, (for under this odious denomination they included all the loyalists) and denounced their ecclesiastical censures on those of their own people who should commit the like excesses. They ordain, that provincial councils should be composed of clergy and laity, and a general national council formed, to which the others should be subordinate; that embassies should be sent from this assembly to foreign potentates; and that the emperor, the king of France, and the pope should be particularly solicited to grant assistance to their cause. These were the principal acts of the clergy. The nobility and gentry, then resident in Kilkenny, united with them in framing the oath of association, in naming the members of the supreme council^k, of which lord Mountgarret was chosen president, and in appointing

a general assembly of the whole nation, to meet in that city in the ensuing month of October.

THE time for this convention was now arrived¹. The popish lords, prelates, and clergy, popish deputies from the several counties and principal towns of every province, assembled at Kilkenny. With an affected humility they protested, that their assembly was by no means to be considered as a parliament, which the king's writ alone could convene, but a general meeting for the regulation of their affairs, until his Majesty's wisdom should settle the present troubles. It was, however, formed on the plan of a parliament, consisting of two houses ; one composed of temporal peers and prelates, the other of representatives deputed by counties and cities. Both sat in the same chamber. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, already distinguished by his activity in parliament, took his place, bare-headed, on a stool, as a substitute to the judges. Nicholas Plunket, another distinguished partizan of the recusant faction, was appointed speaker of the assembly. The lords had their place of retirement for private consultation ; and Darcy communicated their resolutions to the commons. Those of the clergy, who were not admitted to sit among the lords, formed a convocation, in which they treated about the restoration and settlement of church possession. The arrogance of their demands was treated by the lay-impropriators with contempt and ridicule, even while they professed to be the zealous champions of the church.

IN the first place, however, they declared their resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church. agreeably to the great charter

charterm. The common law of England and statutes of Ireland they professed to accept as their rule of government, so far as they were not contrary to the Roman religion, or inconsistent with the liberties of Ireland. They commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the king, and to maintain his just prerogatives: at the same time, they utterly denied and renounced the authority of his Irish government, administered in Dublin, by a "malignant party, to his highness's great disservice, and in compliance with their confederates the malignant party of England." The administration of public justice they assumed to themselves. To each county they assigned a council, consisting of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts and personal actions, and to name all county officers except the high sheriff. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial councils, consisting of two deputies out of each county, who were to meet four times in a year, to decide suits like judges of assize, with some particular limitations of their jurisdiction. From these again there lay an appeal to what was called THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND; an assembly consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general convention. Of these, twelve were to reside at Kilkenny, or in some other convenient town: no fewer than nine were to compose a council; and of the sitting members, two-thirds were to decide on every measure. This council was to choose sheriffs out of three nominated by the county-council; to command all military officers and civil magistrates; to determine all matters left undecided by the general assembly; to hear and judge all causes criminal and civil, except

cept titles to lands; to direct the conduct of war and every matter relative to the interest of the confederacy. For the greater honour and security of this important assembly, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot, and two hundred horse.

As this scheme of a supreme council had been adopted from the ecclesiastical synodⁿ, so also was the oath of association taken from their form; with a retrenchment of one part only, in which the clergy bound their votaries never to consent to peace, until the church should be amply invested, not only with all its powers and privileges, its splendour and magnificence, but with all its antient possessions, which no zeal for religion could induce the present possessors to restore. The assembly were contented with directing, that all persons should swear allegiance to the king, should engage to defend his prerogative, the power and privilege of the parliament of Ireland, the fundamental laws, together with the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion, to obey the orders of the supreme council, to seek for no pardon or protection without consent of the major part of this council, and to prosecute and maintain the common cause.

THE order of government once adjusted, the provincial generals were chosen^o; Owen O'Nial for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke, for Connaught, with the title of lieutenant-general; as they hoped, that the earl of Clanricarde would unite with them, and accept the chief command of this province. Scarcely had they sworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they proceeded to an open and outrageous violation of

of it, by assuming a power of regulating the coin, and raising its value. Their ambassadors were dispatched to foreign courts to solicit succours. At the same time, to demonstrate their pacific dispositions, they prepared two petitions to be presented to the king and queen, together with a representation of those grievances, which they alledged as the occasion of their confederacy.

BUT amidst all this appearance of state and authority, the assembly of confederate Irish felt their secret dissensions and mortifications^p. The more moderate among them affected to abhor the cruelty of the original insurrection. They wished to obliterate the memory of all transactions previous to their convention, and to consider the civil war as but now commenced. Hence, in the disposal of their offices, several of the first conspirators were purposely neglected. Sir Phelim O'Nial was disappointed and provoked: even Roger Moore, whose temper was more generous, and more abhorrent of barbarity, found his zealous services unnoticed and rewarded. He had spirit, abilities, and activity, to render him a formidable malecontent, but, for the present, he was soothed and flattered: his death, which happened soon after this convention at Kilkenny, was an incident possibly not displeasing to the confederates.

TO their utter mortification, Clanricarde steadily rejected all their overtures unshaken in his loyalty by the solicitations, the menaces, and the excommunication, of their clergy^q. To console them, however, in this disappointment, they now gained a new associate

^p Ibid.

^q Carte Grm. Clanricarde's Mem. fol.

sociate of dignity and consequence, Touchet, earl of Castlehaven, and baron Audley of England.

ON the first intelligence of the rebellion, this lord had hastened from Munster to Dublin, and made a tender of his services to government. As he was a Roman catholic, they could not be accepted: he desired a passport to go to England; this also was denied. He was not even admitted to reside in Dublin; and, therefore, retired to one of his seats in the county of Kildare, where he lived inoffensively, and, as he asserts, was serviceable in relieving and protecting the English of his neighbourhood. His character and station induced the lords of the Pale to use his mediation with the justices, that they might be allowed to assemble, and prepare a representation of their grievances to the king. He transmitted their letter, and, at the same time, repeated his request of permission to depart the kingdom. This was unaccountably denied: he was severely reprimanded for his correspondence with the rebels; and warned to be cautious of his conduct for the future. Slight rumours and suspicions of the disloyalty of this lord were eagerly received and entertained by the chief governours; and, on the most futile evidence, he was soon indicted of high treason. Conscious of his innocence, he hastened to Dublin; but, without being heard, was committed to close custody. His brother embarked privately, and petitioned the king, now resident at York, that the earl might be tried by his peers. The king referred him to the parliament: the parliament refused to interfere, without the king. In the mean time, Castlehaven contrived to escape from his confinement; fled to Kilkenny, in the utmost rage and indignation, and was readily
persuaded

persuaded to unite with the confederates. He was created an additional member of the supreme council, and appointed to command the Leinster horse, under general Preston.

WHILE the confederacy of the Irish was thus gaining strength, and rising gradually to consequence, the English, in the midst of their distresses, were divided in affection and interest, by the important contest of the neighbouring kingdom. The governours and their creatures zealously engaged on the side of parliament: the army, influenced by the earl of Ormond, for the most part favoured the king. From the moment that a civil war appeared inevitable, the parliament deemed it a point of consequence to establish an interest in Ireland^f. Their agents were employed in Dublin to solicit the officers of the army to sign a petition to his majesty, beseeching him to comply with his parliament. To men, who had been shamefully neglected and abandoned by this assembly, the application was ungracious. The opinion of their commander was first to be obtained. Ormond received the petition; he proposed, that another should be addressed to the commons, but, in the drafts of both, he made such alterations, as manifested his attachment to the king, and were utterly disagreeable to the parliamentary agents. They adhered to their own form; the earl steadily rejected it; so that the scheme of a petition was defeated; which Ormond took care to represent to the king as an instance of the good affections of his army of Ireland. At the same time he pathetically represented their distresses, his inability to engage in any service of real consequence, and the embarrassments he experienced from the justices, in their ob-

stinate

^f Carte. Orm.

stinate aversion to prosecute the rebels with vigour and effect.

THE justices, on their part, seized every occasion of mortifying the earl of Ormond. They scrutinized his conduct with severity, and represented it maliciously. The earl of Leicester, secretly attached to the parliament^t, and too solicitous for their service to assume his government of Ireland, regarded Ormond with suspicion and disgust, as the rival of his power. On every vacancy in the Irish army, he endeavoured to appoint such officers as were most agreeable to his party. Hence there naturally arose some sharp contentions between the lord lieutenant and the general. They were submitted to the king; and the king readily decided in favour of a zealous royalist. He enlarged Ormond's commission as commander of the army in Ireland, and rendered it independent of the earl of Leicester. As this nobleman professed an intention of repairing to his government without delay, the king deemed it necessary to protect Ormond, his friend, from every possible oppression or mortification. He gave him licence to resort to England at his pleasure, without any prejudice to his offices and entertainments in Ireland; and to grace so good a servant still farther, of his own motion, he created him a marquis.

THE civil war of England was now declared. The king laboured to gain the army of Ireland, by his favours to their general^u. The parliament, still more assiduous, endeavoured not only to secure an interest in the soldiery, but to direct the whole administration of this kingdom. Reynolds and Goodwin, two members of the English commons, were sent

^t Carte. Orm.

^u Ibid.

sent for these purposes to Dublin, and brought with them some ammunition, together with twenty thousand pounds, a supply utterly inadequate to the necessities of the army, but such as served for a momentary relief, and gave them hopes of farther succours. The parliamentary agents were assiduous, and experienced in the artifices of faction: The lords justices, and their creatures of the council, were their zealous partizans. Every rumour disadvantageous to the king and his cause was received with joy, and industriously propagated. The pulpit was employed, as in England, to enflame men's minds; and the most absurd illiterate brawlers, encouraged by those in power, vented their crude decisions on a contest infinitely transcending their wretched intellects. One of these instruments of faction proved so outrageously offensive, as to engage the attention of an Irish parliament and his friends, the chief governours, screened him from punishment, by suddenly proroguing this assembly.

REYNOLDS and Goodwin, together with lord Lisle, who had imbibed the spirit and principles of his father Leicester, were admitted into the privy council, without any warrant from the king, whose authority was despised by the governours of Ireland, from the moment that his sword was drawn. Instead of acting against the public enemy, these men seemed solely intent on embarrassing and mortifying those who were attached to the king^w. Every measure was pursued to render the marquis of Ormond dissatisfied with his command. Clanricarde was abandoned to his distresses: every particular of his conduct was interpreted malignantly; and, possibly, the justices and their creatures entertained some secret

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hopes, that a popish lord, of such extensive property, might, at length, be seduced from his allegiance by the solicitations of the rebels, and the efforts of their clergy. Lord Ranelagh, the president of Connaught, quitted his government in vexation and despair, and hastened to Dublin, with a resolution of laying before the king a full account of the distresses of his province, and the pernicious conduct of the justices. But his design was quickly defeated. On his arrival, he was instantly accused as author of all the extremities which the troops had experienced in Connaught. A charge, consisting of seventy-four articles, was exhibited against him to the council. He was not allowed a copy, or a view of these articles; he petitioned for licence to make his defence before the king, to whom, they were transmitted: but this also was denied.

IT was a point of especial moment to the lords justices, and their party, that no accounts of Ireland, and its affairs^x, should be transmitted either to the king or English parliament, but through the medium of their own representations. But this policy was at length defeated, by the bold and spirited conduct of the royalists. The officers of the Leinster army had been long exposed to the severest necessities, by the withholding of their pay, and the wretched provisions made for their subsistence. They were many of them persons of distinction of the English nation, and supported and joined in their complaints by the earl of Kildare. They had addressed themselves for relief to parliament, but with no effect. They repeated their address to the privy council, in a manner so bold and peremptory as was alarming to government. Hopes and promises were lavished

lavished on these dangerous complainants: expedients were devised for their immediate relief, it was even agreed, that every one should bring in half their plate* for the present supply of the army: but the sum thus raised proved totally insufficient. The clamour was renewed; and the officers, having now prepared an affecting address to the king, demanded licence for their agent to repair to England, and convey it to his majesty.

THE justices and the agents of the English parliament were alarmed at this design. They endeavoured to terrify the officers; they assured them, with an affectation of deep concern, that such an address must infallibly deprive them of all future succours from the commons of England; they entreated them to suspend their design, at least until the effect of those representations already made to parliament should be discovered. When this artifice proved ineffectual, Reynolds and Goodwin persuaded the justices, not only to deny licence of departure to the agent chosen by the officers, but to lay an embargo on all vessels in the harbour. The officers, not yet dismayed, insisted on their demand of a licence. Those of the province of Leinster avowed and united in the address prepared in Dublin, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the two agents, who visited every fort and garrison, to gain the

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* Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, had been pillaged by the rebels in the first insurrection, and deprived of all his substance. As a member of the privy council, he was now required to send in his plate. The prelate answered, that he had none, nor any property whatever but a *few old gowns*. It is scarcely possible to conceive a petty tyranny more provoking and contemptible than that of the justices, who, for no other offence, but that of a reply delivered in plainness and simplicity of heart, committed the poor prelate to close custody, and obliged him to petition the throne for relief.

the officers to their party. The justices found it necessary to take off the embargo. The address was conveyed to the king; who could but express his grief at the distresses of so eminent and meritorious a body, and his thanks for their services and attachment.

THIS was not the first intimation which Charles had received of the distresses of his army in Ireland*. Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Arthur Hill, and colonel Audley Mervyn, had already attended him at Oxford, with a petition in favour of his Irish soldiery; and though avowed parliamentarians, and though their application was permitted and directed by the parliament, they were graciously received. The present petition came from men better affected to his person and interest, and was attended with some useful informations relative to the governours of Ireland, their principles, their connexions and procedure.

THIS prince was now unhappily involved in a civil war, desperately maintained, and of uncertain event. On the first operations of this war, each party was convinced of the necessity of trying every expedient, and ransacking every quarter for assistance. In despite of the inveterate aversion against popery, which it was fashionable to express, and which Charles was particularly interested to affect, he found it necessary, about the time of the engagement at Edge-hilly, to accept the services of papists, and particularly to arm those of Lancashire. The parliament inveighed against this impiety; the king re- criminated, and accused them of employing numbers
of

of the same profession in their army. The parliament declared their resolution of inviting the Scots to assist against the enemies of the protestant religion. Charles justly dreaded the spirit of his northern subjects, and saw the necessity of strengthening himself against an union so formidable. For this purpose he seems to have turned his eyes to Ireland, with an attention stricter than the distractions of England had hitherto admitted. The insurrections of that kingdom had proved of most essential service to his enemies. Could they be allayed, the power with which he had unwarily invested the parliament, of assuming the conduct of the war in Ireland, would be rendered useless and void: they would be deprived of one great popular pretence for raising men and money, and an army of royalists might in due time be transported from Ireland to join the king's standard.

THE professions of the Irish insurgents were not unfavourable to such views. They had repeatedly solicited for liberty to lay their grievances before the king, and for a cessation of hostilities, until their complaints should be heard and decided. They had employed the mediation of the earl of Castlehaven, without effect: the earl of Clanricarde had warmly recommended their propositions to the state; but the lords justices were inexorable: they again applied to Ormond, who resolved to transmit their petition to the king. The justices, when they found that it could no longer be suppressed, at length consented to convey a copy of it to Charles, attended with their own remarks, and an earnest desire that it might be rejected, as the granting the request of the petitioners would be “inconsistent with the means
“ of

“ of raising a considerable revenue to the crown,
 “ and establishing religion and civility in Ireland.”
 They only answer they received was that of a severe
 reprimand for their disrespect in transmitting a copy
 of the petition, and a peremptory order, that they
 should send the original. This occasioned a delay ;
 so that the general assembly at Kilkenny once more
 repeated their application to the throne.

It can scarcely be doubted, but that from these
 overtures the king derived some hopes of compos-
 ing the dissensions of Ireland, and drawing some
 assistance from this kingdom. Nothing, indeed,
 could be more unpopular than any act of indulgence
 to the Irish insurgents. They were the avowed de-
 fenders of popish superstition and idolatry, objects of
 abhorrence to the popular party, and such as the
 king necessarily professed to regard with abhorrence.
 Yet the urgent necessity of his affairs obliged him to
 attend to every argument in favour of these obnox-
 ious rebels. He considered their repeated applica-
 tions for peace, and permission to explain their
 grievances ; the ruin with which Ireland was threat-
 ened ; the neglect of this kingdom which the parli-
 ament had discovered ; his own inability to protect
 his Irish protestant subjects ; and the encreasing
 strength of the rebels. He saw no reason why he
 should not receive the propositions of the Irish, as
 he had formerly condescended to the Scots, and was
 still ready to treat with his English rebels. Thus
 reconciled to a measure which promised some ad-
 vantage^a, Charles issued a commission under the great
 seal of England, to the marquis of Ormond, the earl
 Clanricarde, earl of Roscommon, viscount Moore,
 Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Tho-
 mas

^a Carte Ormond and Letters.

mas Burke, esquire, to meet the principal recusants, to receive, and to transmit their propositions.

SUCH a manifest overture to peace was provoking to the justices, and alarming to Goodwin and Reynolds, the committee of parliament, (as they were called.) Parsons doubted, whether he should not stop the execution of this commission. Burke, who conveyed it into Ireland, was said to be a fomenter of rebellion, and a known agent of the rebels. The committee flew through the army and the inhabitants of Dublin, soliciting them to sign a remonstrance against the commission, but with little success. The king was informed of their proceedings; and, encouraged by the apparent prosperity of his affairs, resolved to pursue his schemes in Ireland with greater vigour. He wrote to the lords justices in terms of great severity, commanding that Goodwin and Reynolds should be removed from the privy council. He soon after transmitted his warrants to the justices and Ormond, for securing their persons, and committing them to close custody. But these agents had already fled from the kingdom in confusion and disgrace. It is natural to expect, that Charles should, in the next place, remove the present lords justices, and commit the government of Ireland to some person of approved attachment. He, indeed, proposed to create the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant, leaving it, however, to his own choice, either to accept or decline this station. Whether Ormond discovered some marks of irresolution in this proposal; whether he imagined, that in his present character he could serve the king more effectually, and with greater security to himself; or whatever were his motives, he humbly advised his Majesty to “ delay the sending him an authority to take

take that “charge upon him^b,” and proceeded to the treaty with the Irish insurgents.

IN conjunction with the other commissioners^c, he sent a summons to the lords Gormanston, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and seven others, who had signed the petition to the king, requiring them to send their agents to Drogheda, where the commissioners would be ready, on a day appointed, to receive their propositions, in order to transmit them to his majesty. The Irish were considerably elated by their present advantages. Their general, Preston, had taken several places of strength, and though, in an encounter with Monk, his party was defeated, yet he still extended his petty conquests. In most districts the insurgents were superiour, and exulted in the distresses of the royal forces. Their vanity and inexperience magnified this superiority, and their clergy, of all others the most vain and inexperienced, encouraged and enflamed their insolence. The commissioners, apprehending the presumption of this order, required, that the committee to be sent to Drogheda should consist entirely of laymen. They limited their number to thirty, and demanded, that they should be ready at the place of meeting to receive the commissioners with due respect to the king's authority. But what was still more offensive, in the safe-conduct granted by the justices to their committee, the recusants were styled *actors or abettors in an ODIIOUS REBELLION*.

AN answer was instantly returned by the supreme council, in the first violence of pride and indignation. They expressed their surprize^d, that a commission founded on an application made by the catholics,

^b Carte. Lett. ^c Carte. Orm. ^d Carte, Letters, vol. III. No. cxxxii, in

in the month of August, should be unaccountably concealed until the succeeding month of February. They declared it necessary for them to have a view, or copy of this commission. They resented the indignity of prescribing a mode of demeanour to their agents, as if they were to be informed of the respect due to the king. But, above all things, they disdained the offensive appellations inserted in the safe-conduct, and inserted by the justices, (as they affected to suppose without authority; and declared their firm and unanimous resolution to abandon all thought of accommodation, until the odious and unmerited imputation of REBELLION should be retracted. In this case, they professed themselves ready to concur in every pacific measure, provided they were not restrained in the number and quality of their agents, and that an indifferent and secure place were assigned for their meeting, as they had melancholy experience of the danger of relying on a proclamation, much more on any safe-conduct granted by the lords justices. "If these our just and reasonable demands," say they, "shall be denied to us, we must again employ some zealous and well-minded man, who, in behalf of justice, dare hazard the RACK, by whom we may address our humble requests to the fountain of justice, his sacred Majesty, whose most faithful and most humble subjects we are*."

THE commissioners hesitated whether they should take any notice of this letter, or proceed any farther in their negotiations with men of such a spirit. Their zeal for accomplishing a treaty essential to the

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* Signed, Mountgarret. Hugo Ardmachanus. Gormanston. Johannes Clonsfertensis. Nicholas Plunket. Richard Bealing. Patrick Darcy. Gerald Fennel. George Comin. Geffery Browne.

king's interest at length prevailed; they condescended not only to return an answer, but to enclose a copy of their commission. In this, the king expressed "his extreme indignation at the odious REBELLION, which the recusants of Ireland had, without ground or colour, raised against his person, crown, and dignity." So that, as it now appeared, the justices had but copied his Majesty's expressions. At the same time, the earl of Castlehaven laboured to inspire his associates at Kilkenny with greater moderation. At his instances they wrote in humbler terms to the commissioners, expressing their solicitude, that his Majesty's gracious intentions towards them should not be frustrated, and their readiness to obey his royal commands, in disposal of their men and arms, with such zeal as should prove them NO ACTORS OR ABETTORS IN AN ODISIOUS REBELLION, expressions, which they still insisted, should not be used in any instrument addressed to them. The second letter of the commissioners brought them to a still more tractable disposition. They now contended themselves, with zealous protestations of their loyalty, and the integrity of their intentions. And thus, by pliancy on each side, and the efforts of men of temper and moderation, it was at length agreed that six agents of the supreme council, all laymen, should be authorised to attend the king's commissioners at TRIM^f, on the seventeenth day of March.

IT had been proposed in the privy council, that a cessation of arms should take place during the negotiation. But this the lords justices peremptorily opposed: and they, who against all the instances of military men, had so long kept the soldiery in a state of inaction, now, at length, found it necessary for

for the subsistence of the forces, to employ them in an expedition which might retard, or defeat the treaty with the Irish. Their design was to reduce the towns of Ross and Wexford, an enterprize which Ormond had earnestly recommended before the arrival of Preston, but which government had as earnestly opposed, on the frivolous pretence of reserving the honour of it for the lord lieutenant, whose arrival was expected, but who was detained in England by the king's command. The justices now resolved to employ lord Lisle; and great preparations were made, and unusual efforts exerted to support him in his expedition. Ormond, suspecting some concealed purpose in this appointment of a general, signified to the lords justices, that, as he was particularly entrusted with the army, he deemed it his indispensable duty to take upon himself the command of this expedition. In a moment, their zeal was cold; the army was ready to march; there was no pretence for suspending the expedition; the command could not be denied to the marquis; they suffered him to proceed; but withheld the provisions necessary to his success.

IN his progress, he drove the rebels from several of those places they had occupied; and relying on the arrival of the stores, which the lords justices engaged to send by sea to Duncannon, he formed the siege of Ross. No stores arrived: the enemy could not be prevented from throwing two thousand men into the town: his forces were exposed to the severity of a dreary season, and threatened with famine. The governour of Duncannon afforded him a small supply of bread and ammunition, which encouraged him to attempt the town by storm, conscious that

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g Carte. Orm.

he could not continue to invest it for any time. A breach was made, the assault given, the garrison was numerous and well supplied; they repelled their assailants with some slaughter. Ormond had a scanty provision of three days for his army, at a distance of sixty miles from the capital: a sudden retreat was the only measure to be pursued: But now, Preston with six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse, occupied a defile through which he must of necessity pass in his return to Dublin.

NOTHING more was necessary to complete the ruin of the English forces, but that Preston should continue to occupy this impregnable station. His enemy was reduced to the miserable alternative of perishing by famine, or marching to a desperate and hopeless attack. In the moment when the gallant marquis was thus on the point of falling, by the neglect or treachery of the justices, Preston happily rescued him from destruction. With a precipitation unpardonable in a soldier, he rushed forward into the plain^h, in full confidence of an easy victory, over an inferior enemy, enfeebled by their wants. Ormond eagerly seized the advantage. His charge was spirited and skilfulⁱ. The Irish horse was at once thrown into confusion by his artillery: their foot, without any considerable resistance, fled, one division after another, and, though they attempted to rally, were pressed so vigorously, that their rout was speedily completed. Five hundred of the Irish were lost in this engagement, and all their baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

THE Leinster rebels must have been entirely destroyed, had the marquis been enabled to continue the

the pursuit, by some troops of horse. But the whole English cavalry, having routed that of the rebels, rode off, without returning to the field; an incident which raised suspicion of some sinister motive in lord Lisle their leader^k. The only advantage, therefore, which Ormond derived from his success, was that of pursuing his march to Dublin, and not without apprehensions of being harraſſed by the enemy, whose loss was not considerable, and who might soon recover from their consternation. But as Preston, in his flight and terroure, had broken down the bridge over the river Barrow, he could not lead his forces back to annoy the enemy, nor prevent them from ranging freely over the country to supply their necessities. The marquis, fired with indignation and resentment, returned to the capital, which was now a scene of calamity and discontent. The inhabitants were exhausted and oppressed by the maintenance of the soldiers: the soldiers, exasperated by their distresses, repeatedly amused by assurances of relief, and repeatedly disappointed, were turbulent and mutinous. Strangers were expelled from the city; thousands of despoiled English, whose very subsistence became an intolerable burden, were transported into their own country. Merchants were rifled and despoiled of their commodities, to supply the necessities of the state. Such wretched expedients still proved insufficient, and the army was still distressed and clamorous.

IN the mean time, four of the king's commissioners met the agents of the confederate Catholics at Trim, and received their remonstrance of grievances and petition for redress^l. In this instrument they made a solemn protestation of their loyalty, pleaded their

^k Carte. Orm.

^l Carte. Lett, vol. III. N^o. cxxxvii,

their former merits, in granting extraordinary subsidies to the king, and apologized for their present insurrection, or rather pleaded a necessity for taking arms, from the oppressions they had long endured, from the disqualifications and severities of the penal statutes of the second year of queen Elizabeth, (which they represented as entirely unnoticed and unknown, until revived by their enemies, as an instrument of persecution,) from the denunciations of the malignant party in England against their religion, and the cruelties exercised on their ecclesiastics. Nor did they forget the ordinance against bowing at the name of Jesus, at which they affected the utmost horror and amazement. The offensive conduct of the lords justices, before and since the first discovery of the insurrection, was fully stated; their devices for exasperating the old natives and perpetuating the war, their arbitrary and cruel measures for defeating every attempt of the Catholics to convey their grievances to the throne. They charged them with horrid perfidy and barbarity, with tyrannical proceedings in the court of wards, iniquitous measures for avoiding letters patent, and depriving the loyal subjects of their just possessions. They inveighed with particular warmth against the acts lately passed in England in favour of adventurers, whereby they were declared rebels, unsummoned and unheard, and despoiled of their lands, without exception, distinction, or any possibility of relief. These acts they represented as forced on the king, to the great prejudice of his rights and prerogatives, subversive of the fundamental laws of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights and privileges of Irish subjects: who, from the time of Henry the second, had parliaments of their own, and by right were to be bound only by acts framed

or accepted in these assemblies.—To remedy these grievances, they proposed, that instead of the present Irish parliament, chiefly composed of the creatures and menial dependents of the chief governours, the king would be pleased to appoint a free parliament, to be convened at some indifferent place, before some person of approved loyalty, and acceptable to the people of Ireland, to deliberate without controul, by a suspension of the LAW OF POYNINGS; and that no catholics be, on any account, excluded from sitting and voting in this parliament.

IN opposition to this remonstrance, which Ormond transmitted to the king^m, the lords justices, in a long declamatory letter, laboured to dissuade him from any accommodation with the Irish. They recalled to view the insolences and cruelties of the first rebellion, and the futility of the pretences urged in its justification. As the old English affected to stand distinguished from the Northerns, they affected to confound and involve both in the same guilt. They observed, and not without reason, that the assembly at Kilkenny had opposed the royal authority by erecting a new system of government, and disclaimed it by their oath of association, and by addressing themselves to foreign powers. They acknowledged their own want of every means to support a war: but, if supplied in due time, they doubted not to “take ample vengeance on the rebels, to reduce them to such a state, as they should not easily relapse into their commotions, and to find a way to a peace which should not be attended with a lingering ruin, but be suitable to his Majesty’s greatness, and establish the future safety and happiness of his posterity, and of the kingdom.”

ORMOND

ORMOND considered the propositions of the confederates as totally inadmissibleⁿ: at the same time, he condemned the representations of the lords justices, as tending to countenance a scheme of extirpation, iniquitous in the attempt, and impossible to be executed. The zeal of each party, those who favoured, and those who opposed an accommodation, grew gradually violent. Ormond, the head and patron of the royalists, accused the justices of concealing the true state of Ireland from the king, and insisted on acquainting him with the whole detail of distress endured by his subjects of this kingdom. The lords justices, although they pathetically lamented their pressing difficulties to the English parliament, yet were industrious, to suppress all clamour and complaints at home, which might be pleaded in favour of an accommodation with the rebels. When the officers of the army petitioned the Irish parliament, representing their sufferings, and the iniquities of some agents, who, in the wretched dividends occasionally made for their support, had defrauded them by light and adulterated coin: they even recurred to the odious method of a sudden prorogation, to prevent the examination of their cause. To express their contempt and defiance of the rebels, they ordered some prisoners taken in battle, to be immediately executed by martial law. Several persons of distinction, who, on submitting, in consequence of the royal proclamation, were rigorously confined in the castle of Dublin, had petitioned, and now repeated their application to be admitted to bail; but this the justices obstinately refused. They had exerted themselves so vigourously, that indictments of treason were found against these, and
above

above a thousand more, in the space of two days; and, with a shameless outrage on decency, a memorial was publicly read at the council board, from a friend of Sir William Parsons, representing his merits in expending sums of money, for procuring witnesses on these indictments.

MEN of such a temper were evidently unfit to be entrusted with government: and the situation of the king's affairs, which every day became more critical, made it necessary for him to smooth the way to such a treaty, as might enable him to draw some assistance from Ireland. Any violent change, however, in Irish administration, might raise a clamour among his enemies in England; he, therefore, contented himself, for the present, with removing Parsons. Borlase, as in himself harmless and in significant, was continued in the government, and sir Henry Titchburne appointed for his new colleague, a man of unexceptionable character, and zealously devoted to the king's service. At the same time, Charles, with a caution now unnecessary, commanded the Irish privy-council, not to execute any warrant, nor to pay obedience to any orders, without his own special allowance and approbation.

THIS change of government was soon followed by an order to the marquis of Ormond, to treat about a temporary cessation of arms with the rebels; as a treaty of final peace, upon moderate and equitable terms, required more time than the king's affairs and the necessities of Ireland could allow. And whatever were the primary motives of the king, involved as he was in a desperate civil war, which obliged him to seek resources from every quarter; yet,

the melancholy plea of necessity never could be urged with greater force than on the present occasion.

DUBLIN, from whence all Leinster and Connaught were to be supplied, as well as Derry and Colerain, had long since been reduced to the most miserable extremities; the inhabitants plundered to supply the soldiery; the soldiery impatient of their distresses: the officers repeatedly threatening to recur to the first principle of nature, that of self-preservation. The province of Connaught was reduced to almost total desperation. The integrity and activity of the earl of Clanricarde had the virulence of the Roman clergy to encounter, (who denounced all their terrors against those who should refuse the oath of association) as well as the practices of those English officers, who were devoted to the parliament. The rebels every day increased in strength: they became masters of the important fort of Galway, and prepared to reduce those castles of the county of Roscommon, which (with Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna) were all that held out in the western province. In Munster, lord Inchiquin, unassisted by the state, and abandoned by the English parliament, tried every miserable expedient for the relief of his soldiers, and was still on the point of total ruin. To preserve his forces from starving, he was obliged to draw them from their garrisons, and to divide them into parties, to range over the country for subsistence. To increase his calamity and consternation, one of those parties, commanded by Sir Charles Vavasor, an English officer, was attacked and defeated by the rebels, under the conduct of Castlehaven and Muskerry; his cannon,

cannon, baggage, and seven hundred arms, taken, and six hundred of his men slain on the field of battle. In Ulster, the British power seemed most predominant. Yet, Monroe, for a while supplied from Scotland and England, at length found himself deserted by both; and, to support his troops, was obliged to rouse them from their inactivity. He attempted to surprise Owen O'Nial in his quarters, but was foiled, and forced to retire with some loss: and though this rebel-general was defeated by Sir Robert Stewart, yet he soon recruited his forces, received a supply of arms and ammunition from the supreme council, and extended his excursions, unmolested by an enemy weakened and dispirited by their distresses.

THE new lords justices and council had a deep sense of this misery to which the several provinces were reduced. They applied by letters, they dispatched their agents, to the English parliament for relief; yet without any considerable effect. As the last effort to keep the army from disbanding or perishing, they recurred to an expedient, of which the commons of England had already set the example; and, without consulting, or receiving any warrant from the king, established an EXCISE. But, although this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet such was the poverty of the kingdom, that the money thus raised, proved utterly inadequate to the necessities of the state.

IN such a situation of affairs, Ormond, thought himself fully justified in proceeding to a treaty with the confederate Irish, agreeably to the king's commands. The affair was delicate, and required address and caution. For the honour of his royal master it was necessary, that the first overture for a

cessation should be made by the rebels: and, for this, his agents were employed to confer with the assembly at Kilkenny. The Irish clergy, who derived their extravagant hopes of power, riches, and splendour, from the confusions of the kingdom, were averse from every measure tending to restore the public peace. But these men and their partizans were, as yet borne down by the more intelligent and temperate of their party. They considered, that to decline a cessation, would be to refute all their specious professions of loyalty, and their pretences of a necessity for taking arms. They had formerly expressed their earnest wishes, that hostilities should be suspended, that they might represent their grievances, and prepare a way for the settlement of a distracted kingdom; and the majority of the assembly now determined to act consistently. They agreed to a cessation of twelve months, on certain conditions to be proposed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond.

As a preliminary to their conference, it was expected on the part of the Irish, that they should have a new and free parliament. The legality of the present was disputed; and, altered as it was so essentially, since its first convention, it seemed not well calculated for the important work of peace. On the other hand it was highly dangerous to summon a new parliament, while the confederate Irish were masters of most great towns and counties, had the elections absolutely in their power, and thus might make laws, and decide upon their own actions. Ormond, therefore, deemed it necessary to declare, that he had no assurances from the king, that a new parliament should be convened, but that in this point the confederates must rely entirely upon such favour as his majesty

majesty should be pleased to grant, upon humble and seasonable propositions offered by their agents. He demanded as a preliminary, on his part, that, if the cessation took place, the confederates should contribute, in some reasonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's forces in Ireland. After some debate and delay, they not only consented to recede from their expectations of a new parliament, but agreed in general, to the proposition of a supply, leaving the particular sum to be ascertained by their agents; who were now commissioned to attend the marquis, at such time and place as he should appoint, in order to conclude the treaty of cessation.

ORMOND was sensible, how odious this treaty must prove to the parliamentarians of England; how severely his conduct would be scrutinized by their partizans in Dublin; how necessary it was for him to guard his reputation from the reproach of enemies who held their secret correspondence with the neighbouring kingdom; whose representations would be received with favour, and propagated with zeal. He applied to the privy-council; he moved, that if the members of this board judged a cessation to be dishonourable to the king, or dangerous to his protestant subjects of Ireland, they should signify it to his Majesty, and propose some other way for the preservation of the kingdom; in which case, he engaged to proceed no farther, but at his own peril to break off the treaty of cessation. When no other way could be proposed, he then moved, that if ten thousand pounds might be raised, one half in money, the other in victuals, he would continue the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford. The magistrates and citizens of Dublin pronounced it impossible to raise such a supply. The marquis, therefore, proceeded

ceeded to meet the Irish agents at Castle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare.

HE received them with a stately dignity; and examined their propositions with the freedom of a superiour. They demanded in the name of the confederates, that the exercise of their government should continue during the cessation; they required, that a free parliament should be convened: the marquis rejected these demands. They desired to be at liberty to use hostilities against the king's enemies; and that a way might be prescribed to distinguish between the royal party, and that of the malignants. To these particulars he declined any explicit answer. To some of their propositions he consented with some qualification or restriction: but, above all things, he demanded a supply for maintenance of the king's forces, previous to the cessation. They observed, that this demand was not warranted by the king's commission; they refused to bind themselves by any previous stipulation, but declared their intentions to grant his majesty a free gift on conclusion of the truce.

ORMOND supposed that their present confidence arose from the prosperous situation of their armies, and particularly from the successful progress of Preston, who had re-assembled his troops, taken several places, and over-run the province of Leinster. Any advantage gained by the king's forces must abate their pride: he, therefore, determined to suspend his negotiations; and, if possible, to force Preston to an engagement. This general cautiously retired before him: Ormond was not sufficiently provided to pursue him: the dread of famine soon forced him to lead his army back to Dublin; abundantly convinced

vinced by this experiment, that the army and the protestant subjects of Ireland were to be rescued from destruction only by a cessation of hostilities.

THE king was impatient for this event. It was not only the ill-success of the treaty at Oxford, it was not only the various events of war, in which he was exhausted, equally by his victories and defeats, that now determined him to seek resources in Ireland. Scotland had discovered a turbulent and dangerous spirit. The practices and negotiations of the English parliament with their brethren of the North, had produced extraordinary commotions; and Charles expected the irruption of a Scottish army to assist his enemies. He renewed his orders and instructions for a cessation: he now deemed it necessary to shew some condescension to the Irish confederates: he expressed an inclination to call a new parliament in Ireland, and to permit their agents to treat with him on this business, and whatever else might conduce to a just, honourable, and perfect peace. To terrify and confound all opposition to his favourite scheme, Parsons, Temple, Loftus, Meredyth, the great partizans of English parliament, were accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, and, by his order, committed to close custody. A commission passed under the great seal of Ireland, empowering the marquis of Ormond to treat for a cessation of arms for one year, on such terms as he should judge necessary, to conclude or break off the treaty as he should see cause; with an indemnification to him, and all who should assist him, from all trouble or damage on account of this transaction.

ORMOND

ORMOND was now to renew his treaty, with men naturally proud, transported by good fortune, and in the full career of success. Lord Castlehaven had taken several forts in the queen's county, and that of Carlow. Owen O'Nial had advanced to West-Meath; Preston extended his irruptions almost to the capital; and both were busily employed in securing the harvest, and filling their magazines. The king's forces grew so mutinous and disorderly from their distresses, that the country-people, who used to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garrisons; were ready to be abandoned through want. Monroe refused to act against O'Nial; Monck and lord Moore were sent to oppose him. Moore was killed in a fruitless attack; Monck was forced to return to Dublin, for want of bread; and Castlehaven took all the places he had abandoned. In the remoter provinces the Irish enjoyed the same superiority; and, in Munster particularly, the distresses of lord Inchiquin were extreme.

THE assembly of Kilkenny were not insensible to the advantages of their cause. Peter Scaramp, a father of the congregation of the oratory, appeared in this city, as minister from the pope. He had brought supplies of money and ammunition to the rebels; letters from the holy see to the supreme council, the provincial generals, and the Romish prelates, and above all, a bull granting a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to those who had taken arms for the catholic religion. The old Irish crowded round him with peculiar attachment: he taught them to regard their countrymen of the English race as impious temporizers, and betrayers of the faith, to look with
horror

in conjunction with these associates, to settle the religion and liberties of England.

BRERETON, as if he believed his own fiction, fled precipitately before the troops of Ireland. They were reinforced by thirteen hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horse, sent by the marquis of Ormond. Lord Byron, the general, issued from Chester, took some castles, routed Brereton, pursued him to Namptwich, and laid siege to the town. But here, after some ineffectual efforts, he was attacked and defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax : almost all the principal officers were made prisoners, with twelve hundred private men. All the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the army fell into the hands of the enemyz. And the zealous royalists had the mortification to find, that in the battle, some of their men deserted to Fairfax, notwithstanding their solemn oath ; and numbers of the prisoners were persuaded to take arms for the parliament. Byron, with the remains of his army, retired to Chester, where he was seasonably reinforced by some additional detachments from Ireland.

It had been debated whether the marquis of Ormond should not be called to England, to command the Irish forces ; but the circumstances of Ireland still seemed so critical, the management of this kingdom so essential to the king's interests, and the fidelity and authority of the marquis so conspicuous, that it was not only resolved that he should continue in his present residence, but that he should be appointed chief governour, with the more honourable title of Lord Lieutenant.

HE was to enter on this office amidst a variety of

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a Barlase. Carte.

a Carte, Lett. Vol. III. No. cxcii.

difficulties, supported only by that enthusiastic loyalty, by which Ormond was distinguished^b. In the northern province the Scottish general, Monroe, disclaimed the cessation. And though, when he had first slaughtered some unoffending Irish peasants, he consented to wait the orders of the state of Scotland, or parliament of England, before he should proceed to further acts of hostility, yet he soon received instructions to carry on the war, without regard to the king's chief governour. The Irish confederates, who commanded in most parts of the other provinces, were still turbulent and factious. The subsidies they had engaged to pay were irregularly and slowly remitted^c: they infringed the articles of cessation, and committed various outrages: nor were the English sufficiently restrained from plundering. Orders were issued in some places, that the Irish should hold no intercourse or traffic with them: thus several English garrisons were in danger of being abandoned, from the apprehension of famine. Various disputes arose about quarters; so that the attention of the chief governour was considerably engaged in hearing the accusations, and composing the violences of each party. What was still more alarming, when the king had exposed himself to the odium of seeking assistance from the Irish, notwithstanding all their magnificent promises, the Irish refused to send any forces into England^d; although they promised the emissaries of France and Spain, that levies should be allowed for the services of their respective courts. In vain did the marquis of Ormond represent the danger of delay, the duty and policy of sending effectual assistance to the king, before their common enemy should finally prevail, or his majesty be enabled to regain

^b Carte, Vol. I. p. 485.^c Borlase, Cox.^d Carte, Orm. Vol. I. p. 474.

regain his authority without their assistance. The confederates were unalterably possessed with a notion, that the encreasing distresses of the king must oblige him to purchase their assistance, by concessions still more liberal and important: so that they could not be prevailed on, even to suffer arms and ammunition to be purchased in their quarters for the royal service.

IN the mean time, Charles was perpetually amused with vast hopes of assistance from Ireland, not only against his English enemies, but those of Scotland. The earl of Antrim had escaped from the custody of Monroe, passed into England, and was received with peculiar favour in the queen's court. The preparations for war in Scotland roused his enterprising genius. He instantly formed the design of raising forces in Ireland for the assistance of Montrose against the Covenanters. On his first landing to execute this project, he had the misfortune of falling again into the hands of Monroef. After some months confinement, (the king having in vain demanded that he should be set at liberty) he again contrived to escape from the castle of Carricfergus; and was conducted to the quarters of Owen O'Nials. A catholic lord, of considerable power at the court of England, supposed to be not at all averse to the cause of the confederates, was received by this general with deference. Hence he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was treated by the supreme council with equal deference. They offered him an honourable command in their army, and urged him to take the oath of association. But as such a sudden engagement was not suited to his projects, he waited on the king, to whom he magnified his interest with

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the confederates, and openly avowed his design of being chosen generalissimo of the whole popish party in Ireland. He secretly flattered himself with hopes of being advanced to the lieutenancy of this kingdom; and to purchase this honour, proposed to lead ten thousand Irish into England for the king's service, and to detach three thousand into Scotland against Argyle.

THE scheme of raising, arming, and maintaining ten thousand men by the interest and authority of a single nobleman^h, was justly regarded as extravagant and hopeless: and even the more practicable design of sending three thousand into Scotland, was not entirely unexceptionable. It was apprehended that such an attempt might call away Monroe and his forces to their own country, at a time when the king's service required that they should be detained in Ulster, and prevented from bringing any assistance to the Scots. But it was soon found that the Scots could effect their invasion of England without the help of their associates in Ulsterⁱ; which made this caution less necessary. It was urged, that it must even prove highly advantageous to the king's cause that Monroe should be forced from Ireland^k; as in this case, the Irish, relieved from the apprehensions of a powerful enemy, would be the better enabled and disposed to serve the king: and although the Earl of Antrim should not succeed to the full extent of his sanguine expectations, yet some good consequences might attend his practices with the Irish; particularly he might contrive to attach numbers among them to the king's cause, in case of a new rupture. These arguments, assisted by the solicitations of the queen, prevailed on Charles to grant him

him a commission for commanding such forces as he should raise^l. To enliven his zeal, he was promoted to the dignity of a marquis, and his ambition was further flattered with hopes of being created duke of Argyle, if he could suppress the present lord of this name and his adherents^m. By a letter from the queen he was recommended to the favour and support of Ormond; and thus embarked on his enterprize, attended by Daniel O Nial, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, who was deemed a person fit to advise and correct the levity of the new marquisⁿ.

HE arrived at Kilkenny, and addressed himself to the supreme council, from whom he expected the utmost attention and support. His requisition of ten thousand men for the service of the king in England they absolutely rejected. He treated for the purchase of arms and ammunition for prince Rupert: the council consented to supply them, but objected to every practicable mode of payment. He demanded three thousand troops for the Scottish service: they replied, that if he would raise them from his own northern clan, they would assist him with some arms, ammunition, and provisions^o, on condition that a convent port in Ulster should be assigned for their reception, and be commanded by an officer named by them: a demand which manifested their purpose of securing the possession of some northern port; and which Ormond could not grant, yet contrived to evade, without giving any pretence to the Irish for denying or suspending their supplies.

ANTRIM was impatient of difficulties and delays; and flattered himself, that by forming a stricter connection with the confederate Irish, he should remove them. At the English court he had boasted his

^l Vol. I. p. 478.

ⁿ Vol. I. p. 479.

^m Carte, Vol. III. No. clxxiii.

^o Vol. III. No. ccxlii.

his vast power and consequence in Ireland; to disappoint the expectations he had thus raised, was intolerably mortifying: at the hazard, therefore, of his own danger, and the utmost scandal to the king's cause, he accepted the oath of association, by which he became a party with the confederates^p, was sworn a member of their supreme council, and appointed lieutenant-general of all their forces; engaging to make use of no other commission but theirs, and to transport no troops without their consent. All the confidence of Antrim seemed now to revive; but served only to expose him to new mortifications. Some Irish parties, who affected to act independent of the confederates, he undertook to persuade from their revolt; but soon found it necessary to leave them to the arms of lord Castlehaven. He entered into a negotiation with Monroe, imagining, that he could prevail on this general to submit the Scottish forces to his lordship's direction: but here again he proved the vanity of his expectations. What was still more alarming, when he had contrived to levy some forces among his followers, the supplies promised by the confederates were still delayed. When Ormond had, with great difficulty, procured transports, the ships* of the English parliament, lay ready to intercept

p Vol. I. p. 480.

* A remarkable instance of barbarity is recorded of Swanly, a commander of one of these ships. He had taken a transport vessel, with one hundred and fifty men, bound for Bristol. The English parliament in their first indignation against the design of engaging Irish forces to fight against them in England, voted that no quarter should be given to these forces, or in the less offensive language of their own resolution, "that they should be tried by martial law in the place where they should be taken." It was a resolution which could not be executed, without exposing their own adherents to the like severity; yet Swanly selected seventy of his captives, who were of Irish birth, and although they had faithfully served the king, yet the merciless wretch instantly plunged them into the sea. Carte, Vol. I. p. 481. Vol. III. No. ccc.

cept them. At length, however, on the taking of Liverpool by the king's forces, these ships quitted their stations; and all the vast projects of the marquis of Antrim ended in transporting about two thousand men to Scotland, long after he had assured Montrose of an immediate and powerful reinforcement.

DURING these transactions, the marquis of Ormond experienced various difficulties in supporting and regulating his army, preserving the public peace, and managing the proud and intractable spirits of the Irish confederates. His favourite object was to break their union^r; and for this purpose, he desired a power of granting pardons to such particulars as should return to his Majesty's obedience. The demand was discovered to the confederates; nor were they insensible of its dangerous tendency: yet Ormond was not discouraged. He held his correspondence with some of their principal leaders; he flattered their ambition; he hinted, that by zealously exerting themselves in the king's service, they might hereafter be preferred to such places of trust and honour as suited their birth and quality, and enjoy that consequence in Ireland which their inferiours of English birth had hitherto obtained. Many considerable places were now vacant, which were eagerly solicited by various competitors about the court of England. These he recommended to be still kept unfilled; at least, that they should be conferred on moderate Irish protestants, as the method to which neither party could justly except, and the safest to be pursued for allaying national discontents.

BUT the affairs of Ulster were of all others the most

most embarrassing to the chief governour, Owen O'Connolly, now the creature of the english parliament had been made bearer of their letters to the British colonels in this province, recommending to them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant. On these conditions, they were assured of their arrears, and full provisions for their future maintenance. Monroe's officers, and those of the old Scottish regiments, were all eager for the covenant, and had already sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement. The english regiments under the command of Ormond, were better affected to the royal cause. But their necessities were urgent; and their hopes of relief depended on complying with the orders of parliament. Ormond advised their colonels, instead of precipitately violating the cessation, at least to imitate the example of Monroe, and to desire time to consider, and to receive directions from the state. He urgently represented the iniquity of the covenant, and furnished them with a proclamation issued by the Irish government, forbidding all persons to tender or except it. But such were their apprehensions of the Scottish general, of the spirit of his forces so violently inflamed against all opposers of the covenant, and of the displeasure of the English parliament, that they refused to publish this proclamation at the head of their regiments. They contented themselves with secretly persevering in their attachment to the king; at the same time, they returned such answers* to the parliament

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* They declared a great willingness to prosecute the war, with the consent of the king and parliament. This Mr. Carte imputes entirely to motives of policy. But he himself hath observed, that in their final agreement for carrying on the war, they declared, that in their consciences they were satisfied of the justice of this measure (vol. I. p. 495.) And this seems to be the truth. Their province was best provided with forces; they were therefore, least sensible to the arguments

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horror on any treaty in which was no express stipulation for the free, public, and splendid exercise of the Romish worship; he insisted on the flourishing state of their affairs, the distresses of the English, the prospect of their final ruin, the certain assurance of support from foreign powers, if the confederates should persevere, and not betray their glorious cause in a juncture so critical: he remonstrated against supplying the king with money to be employed against themselves. As if the very being of their confederacy did not depend on a continuance of the disorders in England, as if they and their claims could find the least regard, should the king be subdued by the parliament, this ignorant priest spirited up his partizans to move, that the treaty of cessation should be deferred until the pope had been consulted, and had given his directions in an affair of such moment to religion.

BUT the more sensible and moderate of the catholic party, were by no means disposed to pay implicit obedience to this minister. They urged the dangers of delay; the scandal of refuting their own pacific declarations and professions of loyalty; the propriety and necessity of supporting the king. They justified a supply, which would be amply compensated by saving the country from plunder; they contended for a cessation, which would relieve a harassed kingdom from numbers of desperate troops, and particularly of the rapacious Scots. The earl of Clanricarde was earnest in remonstrances to his friends and kinsmen, not to reject this favourable opportunity of saving themselves and their country: lord Castlehaven was indefatigable in inspiring his associates with sentiments of moderation and peace:

and the instances of such men proved at length successful.

AFTER much contest and delay, it was at length resolved, that the agents of the confederacy should treat with the marquis of Ormond at Siginstown, near Naas. They appeared moderate and complying, and, particularly, receded from the demand of an immediate dissolution of parliament. Yet the treaty was necessarily protracted, by the difficulties which arose about settling the quarters of both parties during the cessation. When this point was at length adjusted, the Irish agreed to grant the king thirty thousand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at several periods, the other in cattle. When the articles had been finally adjusted, Ormond communicated them, in form, to the lords Clanricarde, Roscommon, Dungarvan, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, some privy counsellors, and principal officers of the army, who had all attended and assisted in the treaty. They subscribed a declaration, that, considering the circumstances of the kingdom, they conceived it necessary for his majesty's honour and service, that the cessation should be finally concluded, on the articles now laid before them. On the fifteen day of September, the treaty was signed by the marquis and the Irish commissioners. It received the ratification of the justices and council; and was notified by a public proclamation to the whole kingdom.

SUCH was the conclusion of this treaty, which, however justified by the necessities and distresses of the king's affairs in Ireland, was yet received with discontent and clamour, in this, and in the neighbouring

bouring kingdom. That party of the Irish confederates, who had opposed the cessation, affected to lament the obstinate blindness of their associates, who, by an unseasonable and injudicious truce, had first broken their power and union, stopped the current of their victories, and allayed their ardour for war. Those of the protestants who were most deeply impressed with a horror of popish barbarity, disdained to see the men, whose hands yet reeked with the blood of their brethren, left to enjoy the fruits of their inhuman outrages. They, whose imaginations had been long possessed with the prospect of forfeitures, were impatient to find their hopes suspended, if not totally frustrated.

BUT the English parliament, above all others, were provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raising money to support their own contest, and was purposely contrived to give assistance to their adversary. From the very moment that they first received an intimation of the intended treaty, the marquis of Ormond became the object of their resentment. They, who had declared to the Irish agents sent to solicit relief, that if five hundred pounds might save their kingdom, it could not be spared, now affected the utmost commiseration for their protestant brethren of Ireland. New schemes of raising money for the Irish service were devised; and the utmost indignation expressed by parliament, that the distresses of this kingdom should be imputed to their neglect. Before they had been certainly informed of the conclusion of a treaty, they issued a solemn declaration against a design so impious. In this, they ascribe the disorders of both kingdoms to one cause, the in-

fluence of jesuitical practices, and a horrid scheme of destroying the protestant religion. They magnify their zeal for the service of Ireland, and assume the merit of every advantage gained against the rebels. "God hath been pleased," say they, "to bless our endeavours with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the protestant blood, which, at first was spilt like water on the ground, hath been revenged; their massacres, burnings, and famishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosom." They imputed the design of a cessation to the artifice of the rebels, who were in a far worse condition than the protestants, reduced by "the remarkable judgment of God," even to feed one upon another: and who laboured a treaty of cessation, in order to gain some respite for reaping the harvest, and receiving their expected supplies without molestation. They acknowledged their apprehensions of the king's deriving some assistance from such a treaty, or, to use their own language, of the Irish forces uniting with the popish party of England. They complain that the lords and commons, to whom the care of Ireland had been committed, had not been consulted on this intended treaty. To the rumours of such a treaty they boldly impute those distresses of the protestant army, pleaded as a pretext for the cessation; rumours, which had discouraged adventurers, and stopped contributions: they, therefore, pathetically call on all those who, are well affected to the protestant religion, those who, by their adventures, have embarked their particular interests in the public service of Ireland, to obviate this plea of necessity, by their liberal contributions, as "the cry of much protestant

“ protestant blood, the great indigence of many
“ ruined families, and the danger of their religion,
“ almost exiled out of Ireland, call for this last act
“ of piety, charity, justice, and policy.”

THE falsehoods by which this declaration is disgraced are indeed flagrant, but, possibly, not altogether intentional. It is certain, that the great partizans, of the parliament in Dublin were, about this time, detected in transmitting the most scandalous misrepresentations of the state of Irish affairs. The people of England, in general, had neither leisure nor disposition to enquire accurately into the circumstances and transactions of Ireland. The barbarities of the rebels seem to have possessed them with an indiscriminate aversion to the whole kingdom, and enflamed their detestation of popery. They knew not the strength of the popish party in Ireland; and when a great and formidable majority of inhabitants were treated by a feeble government with any degree of moderation, they were scandalized at the concessions shewn to impious and barbarous idolaters. Several of the king's adherents ascribed the cessation to the counsels of the queen and her favourites. Some regarded it as a contradiction to those solemn protestations, which Charles had repeatedly made against popery; and declared, that after this fatal discovery of his real sentiments, they could no longer continue to support his cause.

C H A P. VI.

Forces sent from Ireland to the assistance of the king.-- Their ill success.—Ormond created lord lieutenant. His embarrassments from the Scots, and from the Irish.—Adventures and undertakings of Antrim.—He is created a marquis, and commissioned to raise forces in Ireland.—His disappointments.—He takes the oath of association, and accepts a command from the confederates.—Final issue of his negotiations.—Attempts of Ormond to break the Irish confederacy. Affairs of Ulster.—The covenant eagerly taken by the British forces of this province.—New commission sent to Monroe.—He seizes Belfast.—His treaty with the English forces.—They declare against the cessation,—Irish alarmed.—The command of their forces offered to Ormond.—They demand that he should proclaim the Scots and their adherents rebels. He evades their demands,—Irish treaty at Oxford. Insolence of the popish agents.—Their final demands. Extravagant requisitions of some protestant agents. Propositions offered by those of the Irish privy council.—Charles embarrassed.—His answer to the Irish agents.—His speech on their departure.—He transfers the treaty to the marquis of Ormond.—Difficulties of this lord.—Lords Inchiquin and Esmond revolt to the parliament, and declare against the cessation.—Ormond commences his treaty.—The propositions of the Irish and his answers.—Their proceedings adjourned -- Gradual condescensions of the king, disagreeable to Ormond.-- He offers to resign his government.-- Charles refuses his offer,--labours to conciliate both the popish and protestant party in Ireland.--Practices of the confederates in foreign courts.--Their military operations.-- Duncannon taken

taken by the Irish.-- Progress of lord Castlehaven.-- Treaty renewed with Ormond.-- Earl of Glamorgan, and the nuncio Renunccini expected in Ireland.-- Temper and proceedings of the Irish clergy.-- New demands of the confederates.-- Arrival of the earl of Glamorgan.-- His commission and secret treaty.-- The negotiations with Ormond apparently concluded.-- The king unhappily defeats his own purposes.

CHARLES avowed that the cessation was preparatory to a peace with the Irish: at the same time^a, he declared against consenting to any peace, but on terms agreeable to conscience, honour, and justice: yet his present situation forcibly tempted him to a relaxation of these principles, and to accomodate his political conduct to his difficulties and distresses. The Scots, whom, from experience of their temper and resolution, he justly dreaded, were united with their brethren at Westminster, by that formidable bond of confederacy the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. Their forces were preparing for a descent on England, to support rebellion, as the royalists expressed it; but in the bold language of the Northerners, for the help of the LORD, and his servants the parliament and their adherents.

THE zealous professions of the confederate catholics of Ireland, as they were now styled, the sanguine assurances of powerful support lavished by their agents in England, the vigilance of Ormond in keeping the protestant forces of Leinster firmly attached to the royal cause, all contributed to possess the king with confident expectations of assistance from an Irish army^f. He had directed the marquis of

^a Carte, Letters. Vol. III. No. clxxiii. r A. D. 1643. f Ibid.

of Ormond, that as soon as the cessation should be concluded^t, he should send over such forces as could be spared. About two thousand effective men were chosen from Leinster the army^u. Provisions for their embarkation were made with difficulty. They landed in North Wales; while lord Inchiquin, with equal difficulty, contrived to transport several regiments from Munster, to the west of England. The troops thus destined to the king's service were protestants; many of them Englishmen by birth, who considered their return to their native country as a happy escape from the calamities they had endured in Ireland; all were bound by a solemn oath to defend the protestant religion as established in the church of England^w, to maintain the king's person and prerogative against all his enemies, and particularly the earl of Essex and his forces. Yet, scarcely had the troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thousand Irish rebels, still reeking with the blood of protestants, now arrived on the coast, and impatient to extend their barbarous fury into England^x. Sir William Brereton, who commanded in these quarters for the parliament, was not ashamed to transmit this intelligence to London, at the very time when, by his letters to the officers of these troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the protestant religion, and laboured to seduce them from their attachment to the king. In London his representation was implicitly received, and industriously propagated. They, who did not think it necessary to affect the most ghastly consternation, observed with scorn^y, that the Irish rebels were now to join the popish armies of the king and queen, and
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^t No. clxix. ^u Carte. Orm. vol. I. p. 471. ^w Borlase.

^x Carte. Orm. vol. I. p. 471.

^y Whitelocke, p. 75.

as might conciliate their favour, and procure some supplies.

ALTHOUGH the forces of Monroe had ruined the estates of these English officers^t, and distressed them in their quarters, yet agreeably to their instructions, they laboured to detain this army in Ulster. But when the opposition of the marquis of Newcastle had alarmed the Scots, orders were dispatched from Scotland to recal Monroe to the assistance of his countrymen. The old Scottish soldiers and inhabitants of the northern province were distracted at the thoughts of being abandoned by their brethren. Levies were made from all orders and parties indiscriminately for the service of Scotland: and abundance even of the most barbarous Irish rebels engaged to fight against the king. The people grew clamorous; they complained, that the country was in danger of depopulation, that the peasants had abandoned their husbandry, and that a general famine was approaching. The English officers laboured to allay these terrours, when other orders arrived countermanding the departure of the Scots. So that the English and Irish levies only were transported, together with some Scottish regiments who grew impatient at the delay of their supplies, and insisted on returning to their associates of Scotland.

BUT scarcely had the province recovered from this agitation^u, when ten thousand pounds, some

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cloathing

of necessity for an accommodation with the Irish. They had been witnesses, and some of them sufferers from the outrages of the first insurgents. They were the most deeply impressed with the horror of their barbarities. Whatever, therefore, were their professions to the marquis of Ormond, it is natural to suppose, that in their hearts they condemned a cessation which left the northern Irish not only unpunished but in full possession of the advantages gained by their brutal cruelty.

^t Carte, vol. I. p. 488.

^u Carte, vol. I. p. 490.

cloathing and provisions, were remitted to Monroe from Scotland, together with four ministers of the kirk to enforce and tender the covenant. These missionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal, through every parish of the counties of Downe and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthusiastic ardour. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peasants, all flocked round them, all contending for the glory of running foremost in the godly cause, and first accepting an engagement so precious, and so essential to the welfare of their souls. The prohibitions and menaces of government, the proclamation against the covenant, which some English colonels, at length, ventured to publish to their regiments, only served to inflame the general fervour. Private men and subalterns, who had secretly taken the covenant, now boldly avowed it, and bad defiance to their commanders. They, who refused to be united with the godly by this holy vow, were regarded as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity: nor would the inhabitants supply them with the necessaries of life. They, who had ever appeared most attached to the royal cause, now caught the popular contagion. Audley Mervin, so noted for his nauseous harangues, inveighed with such vehemence against the covenant in the parliament of Dublin, expressed such loyalty to the king, and declaimed so copiously against the English commons, and their neglect of Ireland, that the marquis of Ormond deemed him a proper person to be entrusted with the government of Derry. Scarcely had he entered on his new office, when he was prevailed on to take that engagement which had been the object of his severest censure.

MONROE, and his officers^a, had taken the covenant with great solemnity in the church of Carricfergus. Yet this general affected the utmost moderation, leaving it entirely to the kirk-ministers to prevail, by pious exhortations, without attempting any violence against those who refused this oath. But the English officers of the royal party were not deceived by this apparent lenity. They every moment expected an order from the English parliament for imposing the covenant by force; and their apprehensions were confirmed, when a commission from the English houses under their broad seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royalists assembled at Belfast to resolve on an answer to be returned the Scottish general, when he should require them to submit to his command. In the midst of their consultation, Monroe contrived to surprise the town. Hence he marched to take possession of Lisburne, but was foiled in his attempt by the spirit and vigilance of the English officers. The Ulster forces were thus on the point of declaring war against each other. The superior numbers of the Scots were formidable to the English; the resolute spirit of the English was alarming to the Scots; an amicable agreement was the interest of both; and a stipulation was soon framed and subscribed. It was agreed, that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they should first address themselves to the English parliament, and represent their reasons and scruples to the

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contrary;

contrary; that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions, and have the same privileges and appointments with the Scots. On these conditions, they engaged to join with Monroe in a vigorous prosecution of the Irish rebels, unless his Majesty's command should hereafter contradict their further proceeding.

THE seizure of Belfast, and the union of the Ulster forces^w, were incidents both alarming and provoking to the confederate Irish at Kilkenny. Their forces were scattered, their generals divided by frivolous competitions. Their pride was inflamed by that consequence which they had gradually acquired. While they detached Castlehaven to the assistance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he should accept the supreme command of all their forces, and march against the stubborn Northerners with the whole united power of the royalists: for in this party the Irish affected to be ranked. At the same time, they required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, in consequence of their outrageous infringement of the cessation.

IT was obvious for Ormond to reflect, that by accepting the command of the Irish, he must blend the rightful power of the king with the usurped authority of the rebels, in a manner odious to every protestant subject, disgraceful to his royal master, and really dangerous to himself, however the bold measure might be recommended by some present advantages. To issue a proclamation against the Scots, and to brand their adherence to the parliament with the name of rebellion, appeared equally dangerous and obnoxious. It must afford them a fair pretence
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for their opposition to the king: furnish them with plausible arguments for seducing others, and provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favourers of the covenant. The marquis, therefore, could not, consistently with the plainest rules of prudence, irritate the English parliament, already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of almost all his forces. On the other hand, it was dangerous to disoblige the Irish. They might find pretences for withholding that part of their subsidy which remained unpaid. They had promised to supply him with corn and cattle: they might retract this promise: they might cut off all commerce and freedom of markets. The scanty and precarious remittances from England, if not intercepted by the ships of parliament, yet were utterly inadequate to the necessities of government. So that his hopes of subsistence depended on the Irish, who, if once provoked, might reduce him to sudden famine.

IN this situation, Ormond resolved, instead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuse them with a treaty tending to their own purpose, but in a different manner. He pleaded the want of direction from the king, and the impropriety of declaring against the Scots, before he had received explicit orders. In the mean time, he proposed that the Irish should make provision for the payment and maintenance of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse of his Majesty's forces. With this body, thus effectually supplied, he engaged to restrain the Scots, from violating the cessation, or annoying the provinces. The Irish were sensible, that by proclaiming the Scots rebels, the king must in effect avow, that he depended entirely on their confederacy for the subsistence
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of his power and government in Ireland; and in the fulness of their pride insisted on this measure. For the same reason, Ormond, strenuously, yet artfully, opposed their desires. Some time was necessarily spent in propositions, answers, and replies: and, in this interval it appeared, that the Scottish general, notwithstanding the violence of his declarations, and some attempts to re-commence hostilities, was really not inclined, or not enabled to prosecute the war with vigour.

WHILE the marquis of Ormond thus contended with the wants and distresses of the state, the arrogance of the popish confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters, Oxford was an important scene of Irish negotiation. By the articles of cessation, the confederates were allowed to send agents to the king, and to treat about a final peace: that event, on which Charles rested his hopes of a powerful reinforcement from Ireland, and for which he was, of consequence, particularly solicitous. The commissioners of the popish party were chosen in November, of the year 1643: but by the diversity of opinions in their assembly, the difficulty of adjusting their instructions, and the propositions to be offered from their body, these commissioners did not appear before the king until the twenty-third day of the ensuing month of March. Their first propositions discovered the confidence and vanity of their party. Besides the public establishment of the popish worship, they demanded a repeal of the acts for encouragement of adventurers, which they must have known that the king could not procure. They required that no standing army should be maintained in Ireland; and, at the same time, that their own supreme council

Council should be continued, until all their grievances were redressed by parliament, and even for some time after. They insisted, that all offices whereby any titles to lands were found for the crown, since the first year of Elizabeth, all attainders since that period, all grants and leases from the crown in consequence of such attainders, should be reviewed in a free parliament. Thus, they in effect required the extinction of the English power in Ireland: the king and his ministers were justly provoked; and by expressing a determination to break off all conference with men so intractable and extravagant, soon reduced the Irish agents to less imperious terms. They withdrew these obnoxious propositions, and offered others which they styled moderate and reasonable, and the very lowest which they could devise, consistently with the freedom of Irish subjects.

OF these their moderated demands, the most important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal statutes; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poynings' law; during its session; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since the seventh day of August 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all subsequent disorders; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish catholics, since that day; a release of debts, and general act of oblivion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of an inn of court, and seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives without exception, to places of trust and honour; that no persons, not estated and resident in Ireland, should

should sit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act should pass, formally declaring the independency of their parliament, on that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy-council should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government, he should be disqualified to purchase any lands in the kingdom, except from his Majesty. To these, and other articles of less consequence, they added, with an affected indignation, at the charge of cruelty urged against their party, that a parliamentary enquiry should be made into all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman barbarities committed on either side, and that the offenders should be excluded from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign punishment. On the grant of these propositions, they declared their readiness to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's service; and, particularly, to contribute ten thousand men towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion of England.

HOWEVER inadmissible many of their demands appeared, yet Charles accepted the whole memorial as a foundation for a treaty, and such as, with due discussion, and some concessions on each side, might produce no very offensive peace. But whatever was the king's impatience for this event, he found the progress of it grievously retarded by the contention of Irish parties, popish and protestant, both irritated and violent, and both alike unreasonable in their demands. He had directed that some experienced men should be sent from the privy council of Ireland to assist in this treaty. They nominated archbishop Usher, and eight others, of whom the king sum-

summoned four to his assistance. But a number of zealous protestants, not acquainted with this transaction, or not entirely confiding in the nomination of the council, assembled at the house of the earl of Kildare, and chose four persons, by whom they desired, and were permitted, to present their petitions to the king. To this number, Sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parsons, were afterwards added; by what authority seems not very material to enquire, as they were received as agents from the protestants of Ireland by the king. The whole party was of the puritanic cast; possessed with a violent aversion to popery, enflamed against the professors of this religion, by a painful recollection of the late disorders in Ireland, suspicious of the king, and Coote and Parsons, at least, who took the lead in their transactions, devoted entirely to the interest of the English parliament. In the alacrity of their zeal, they had contrived to present themselves at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Irish council, and summoned by the king, had yet arrived.

THEY were received with sufficient grace, and immediately presented the petition of that body of protestants from whom they derived their authority. The king expressed a tender sense of their distresses; and acknowledged, that they had truly stated the iniquity of the first popish insurgents; intimating, however, that some distinction should be made between these and the gentry of the Pale, who, he seemed willing to believe, had been forced into rebellion by the Irish chief governours. Provoked at any tenderness expressed towards the popish party, and much more at the attention and respect with

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which their agents were received at a court, where the influence of the queen was too predominant, these men grew importunate and bold. They demanded permission to enter into a particular confutation of the Irish remonstrance framed at Trim: they required a copy of the propositions lately presented by the Irish agents: they were reproved, yet not dismayed; they exhibited a copious answer to this remonstrance, together with a collection of propositions from the Irish protestants, dictated by the spirit of triumphant pride, as if they had already vanquished and subdued the whole popish party.

THEY required the most rigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of all the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved; that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge: that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings', the great bulwark of the royal power, and protection of the protestant subjects of Ireland; that the king should take all forfeited estates into his own hands, and after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the residue entirely to British planters.

THE peremptory manner in which these, and
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some other propositions of the like import, were enforced, was astonishing to the king and his ministers. It was suggested, that they had been framed in Londonb, to render any attempts to an accommodation with the Irish odious, and, perhaps, to provoke them to a sudden violation of the truce. The agents were told, that demands impossible to be enforced by the whole power of their party, though supported by the royal authority, could not possibly be dictated by the protestants of Ireland. They were desired to explain how the war could be carried on, if the Romanists should refuse to submit to such severe conditions of peace: they were reminded of the king's embarrassed situation, and exhorted to accommodate their demands to the exigencies of present times and circumstances. But they continued intractable and obdurate. They insisted^c, that they were duly authorised to offer these propositions: and a committee of the Irish parliament (so were a few members styled) testified, that they delivered the sense of the whole protestant party. "They were entirely ignorant of the king's circumstances; they were but to propose the sentiments of his good subjects, and to prove their allegations^d. They thought it better that the protestants should even abandon Ireland for a time, than make a destructive peace." At the same, if we may believe Mr. Carte, they discovered their real sentiments, and with a provoking insolence declared, that the king had nothing more to do, but to submit to the terms of peace proposed by the English parliament, and then there would be no want of supplies for the Irish war.

^b Cox.^c Borlase,^d Carte, *Orm*, Vol. I. p. 505.

THE commissioners deputed by the Irish council were now arrived. They condemned the extravagance of these propositions, and solicited Coote and his associates to withdraw them. But these men were immoveable; and when their own scheme of an accommodation came to be considered, their demands, though not so arrogant, were yet found utterly inconsistent with the king's circumstances, and impossible to be enforced. They particularly represented it as essential to the security of all protestant subjects in Ireland, that recusants should be disarmed, and the penal laws strictly enforced. It was in vain for the king to propose to the Irish agents, that their party, superiour as they were in power, and possessed of more than three parts of the kingdom, should consent to resign themselves, unarmed, to the mercy of those whom they had so grievously provoked. And even in times of peace, the penal laws were too odious to be strictly executed; much more at the present juncture, when the catholics, in their pride and confidence, demanded such concessions, in favour of their religion, as would reduce the established church merely to a state of precarious toleration. It was, therefore, evident, that no treaty could be concluded upon the terms proposed by the protestants; it was scarcely less evident, that the most violent of this party laboured to obstruct a treaty upon any terms. Charles had a lively feeling of his own necessities: and his impatience for a peace, which was to give him such a powerful body of Irish troops, was enflamed by suggestions of the queen; who, in the conflict of parties, possibly believed, that all but the catholics were infected with what was called in her court the spirit of rebellion; and gradually wrought her unhappy consort into a persuasion, that his

his catholic subjects only were worthy of his confidence. Whether he was as yet fully possessed with this prejudice or no, he treated the agents of the confederate Irish with particular attention, and answered their propositions with that courtesy and condescension which he had been taught by his misfortunes.

SOME of their demands he had consented to grant, previous to the Irish insurrection^e; and, in these points, he made no difficulty to repeat his promises. In others, it was neither odious nor unreasonably to comply. The discussion of that delicate point, the independency of Ireland, as it was called, he was willing to refer to both parliaments, to be temperately and equitably decided. He agreed to pass an act for removing any incapacity from the natives of Ireland to purchase lands or offices; and was satisfied to allow recusants their seminaries of education. Instead of reversing acts of parliament, indictments, and attainders, he proposed to grant a general pardon, and to assent to such an act of oblivion as should be recommended by the lord lieutenant and council. He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but without suspension of the law of Poyning's. To their proposition for a repeal of penal statutes he replied, that as these statutes never had been rigorously executed, so his recusant subjects, on returning to their duty and loyalty, should have no reason to complain that they were treated with less moderation than in the two former reigns: and that such of them as manifested their affection to his service, should receive such marks of favour in offices and places of trust, as would plainly shew his acceptance and regard of them.

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THE Irish agents, flattered and conciliated by the condescensions of the king, demeaned themselves with modesty and submission. They confessed, that his Majesty, circumstanced as he was, could not, in their opinion, make any farther concessions, and hoped that the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, when informed of his situation, would moderate their demands, though they themselves had no present authority to recede from them. The king dismissed them with a pathetic admonition, to consider his circumstances and their own^f: “ that the existence of their nation
 “ and religion depended on the preservation of his
 “ just rights and authority in England: that if his
 “ catholic subjects of Ireland would consent to such
 “ conditions as he could safely grant, and they ac-
 “ cept with security to their lives, fortunes, and re-
 “ ligion, and hasten to enable him to suppress his
 “ enemies, it would then be in his power to vouch-
 “ safe such grace to them as should complete their
 “ happiness; and which, he gave them his royal
 “ word, he would then dispence in such a manner
 “ as should not leave them disappointed of their
 “ just and full expectations. But if, by insisting
 “ on particulars, which he could not in conscience
 “ grant, nor they in conscience necessarily demand;
 “ and such, as though he might concede, yet, at
 “ present, would bring that damage on him which
 “ all their supplies could not countervail, and yet
 “ might be hereafter granted with equal benefit:
 “ if they should thus delay their succours, until the
 “ power of the rebels had prevailed in England and
 “ Scotland, then they would quickly find their
 “ power in Ireland but an imaginary support for his
 “ interest or their own; and that they, who with
 “ difficulty

“ difficulty had destroyed him, would without opposition root out their nation and religion.”

SUCH were the declarations of a prince who had repeatedly protested against tolerating popery, and particularly against repealing the penal laws of Ireland. His zealous advocate, Mr. Carte, was so scandalized at the most obnoxious part of this address, that he has thought proper to soften, if not misrepresent, the expressions recorded by the noble historian. Yet with all this apparent strength of language, Charles seems, in a manner not unusual to him, carefully to have avoided that real precision, which might confine him in his future conduct. It was his present purpose to persuade the Irish, that a full and free establishment of their religion would prove the reward of their services. But without any special and explicit engagement, he leaves it in his own power hereafter to decide whether such a concession were included in the number of their JUST expectations, or necessary to *complete their happiness*. Some important concessions, he knew, were of necessity to be made, before the Irish would consent to take arms in his cause. To accept of their assistance upon any terms, rendered him doubly odious to his enemies, and to his friends was only reconciled by the distress of his affairs. To what terms he might yield, without offending and alienating his own party, was a point of delicate and critical discussion. The king could not decide it: his ministers would not advise him. Should they recommend too favourable concessions, they were exposed to the resentment of the popular party: should they declare against indulgence to the Irish, the queen was offended; and her creatures accused them of indifference to the royal cause. In this perplexity, the king readily yielded to such plausible arguments

arguments as statesmen can at any time suggest for any measure favourable to their private purposes, and resolved to lay the whole burden and odium of treating with the Irish on the marquis of Ormonds. He received a commission to make a full peace with the Catholic subjects of Ireland, on such conditions as he should judge agreeable to the public welfare, and might produce such an union in that kingdom that his majesty might derive assistance from it, to suppress the rebels of England and Scotland.

ORMOND was sensible of the danger and difficulty attending such a commission. He was to settle terms of accommodation, which the king and his ministry could not, or would not venture to adjust. If the people of England were averse to any peace with the Irish, the English inhabitants of Ireland had felt their outrages, and were particularly provoked. Should he grant any concessions to the popish party; his delegated authority might be questioned and opposed, and he would naturally be accused of partiality to his kinsmen, of whom many had united with the Irish confederates. Should he refuse such concessions, these kinsmen would reproach him as the partizan of their inveterate enemies, men who sought the utter ruin and extirpation of their race. But the power and inveteracy of the English parliament were still more formidable; an assembly which would infallibly denounce the utmost vengeance against him, should his conduct give offence to their passions or prejudices, while the royal authority was too weak to protect him^h. To complete the difficulty, he received no instructions from the English court; was told, that he was to expect no instructions; and thus was to assume the whole conduct

duct of a delicate transaction, in which the king could not take any part.

THE difficulties of his government seemed already sufficient to confound the best abilities, and scarcely admitted this additional embarrassment. He was oppressed with want, hopeless of relief, blocked up at sea, encompassed with enemies; the Irish proud and querulous; the Scots, though not active, yet insolent and troublesome; and the southern province agitated by a sudden revolution, highly alarming to the royal partyⁱ. Lord Inchiquin had commanded in Munster since the death of Saint Leger, but without the title of Lord President. He claimed this office as the reward of his zealous services: but, on application to the king at Oxford, found, to his utter mortification, that it had been already granted to the earl of Portland; nor could he even obtain the reversion of it on the death or resignation of this earl. To justify this injudicious and unwarrantable treatment of a lord who had deserved so well from the king, some reports were whispered injurious to his character. He returned to Munster fired with resentment; entered into a secret negotiation with the English parliament; engaged that his brother, who commanded in the town of Wareham, should deliver it into their hands, and that he himself would unite zealously in their cause. He was received with open arms, and encouraged to avow his purpose, by promises of large and immediate supplies. He began with petitioning the king to submit to an accommodation with his parliament of England, and the parliament, to assist him against the Irish, and pretending to have discovered, that this party had formed a scheme for

seizing his garrisons, he drove out the magistrates and all the popish inhabitants from Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, and seized their effects. His officers took the covenant with great alacrity; and though he himself declined it until the cessation should expire, yet he bound his soldiers by an oath to endeavour the extirpation of popery, to prosecute the war against the Irish, and to submit to no peace but with allowance of the king and parliament of England. Lord Esmond, governour of the important fort of Duncannon, was readily persuaded to follow the example of Inchiquin: the Scots of Ulster promised to concur with him, so that the flame of war seemed ready to break out again with great violence and extent. But Monroe and his forces, after some motions and inconsiderable skirmishes, soon sunk into their usual inactivity; and Inchiquin, neglected by the English parliament, was soon obliged, for the preservation of his forces, and the protestants of Munster, to make a cessation with the Irish.

IN this situation of affairs, the marquis of Ormond commenced his treaty with the confederates. Their commissioners attended him at Dublin on the sixth day of September, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-four: and, in the first place, it was agreed, without any difficulty, that the cessation should be prolonged; but the conferences about peace proved more perplexing. The Irish were every day more elevated with ideas of their own power and consequence, and the hopes of extorting vast concessions from the necessities of the king. Their clergy, by the removal of the treaty to Dublin, had full power to exert their influence. One of this order, Fleming, the popish archbishop of Dublin, had been nominated one of the commissioners to attend the lord

lieutenant

lieutenant. Ormond, who knew the spirit of such men, absolutely refused to confer with him. But public characters were not necessary to enforce their authority : and their authority seems to have borne down all the efforts of the temperate and more penetrating of their party. Certain it is, that the Irish commissioners now appeared to have forgotten or disregarded the promises made to the king, and the sense expressed of his equity and grace. They offered the very same propositions which had been presented at Oxford, together with some others of less moment. Particularly they required what could not be granted in the present juncture, that the Scots and lord Inchiquin who concurred in opposing the cessation, should be declared traitors^k. For this, they claimed a promise from the king, and his minister, lord Digby, acknowledged that such a promise had been given, provided that a peace or cessation should be first concluded. Thus, did Ormond, possibly for the first time, discover a secret train of negotiation between the king and the catholics of Ireland. But from his knowledge of the temper of the Irish protestants, he deemed it necessary to decline this measure ; and for his own honour, as well as that of his royal master, returned the same answers to the Irish commissioners which their propositions had already received in England. To their demand of a repeal of all penal statutes enacted against the professors of their religion, he answered, by repeating the royal promise that these statutes should not be enforced : a new parliament he refused : a suspension of the law of Poynings' he opposed : nor could he consent to an act of oblivion so extensive as they required. He demanded, that the Irish should abo-

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^k Carte, Orm. Vol. III. No. cccxxxi.

lish their usurped government, restore all towns and castles to the king, the churches to the protestant clergy, and to the laity their estates and property. The propositions made, and the answers returned, Ormond cautiously determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January; and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a vessel in the service of parliament, all further proceedings were suspended until the month of April 1645*.

IN this interval, Charles made fuller discoveries of that fatal instability, and that indulgence to the Romish party, so odious to his enemies, and, indeed, to the general body of his protestant subjects, and so repugnant to his solemn promises and declarations. At the very time when he agreed to enter on the treaty of Uxbridge, he entertained the flattering hopes of raising such an army from abroad, as should enable him to crush all his opposers†. The queen amused him with expectation of ten thousand Lorrainers ready to be poured into England for his service. The Irish magnified their power and disposition to support him: and such potent allies he was impatient to purchase at any price. The confederate catholics carried on a sort of private negotiation

* About this time Mac Mahon and lord Macguire, who had taken a leading part in the Irish conspiracy, were condemned and executed in London. They had lain two years in the Tower, had contrived to escape, but were discovered, retaken, and immediately brought to their trials. Macguire pleaded a right of being tried by his peers in Ireland; but the plea was over-ruled, and the two houses confirmed the opinion of Judge Bacon, that he was triable by a jury in England. They rejected his petition to be beheaded. So that he was drawn to Tyburn, and executed in the ordinary manner.

ation with him, by their agents, lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne^m. The last of these, in particular, presented a memorial, intimating, that his party was inclined to moderate their demands with respect to religion, provided that his majesty would condescend to them in other articles. Charles conceived new hopes from such professions, and became more and more complyingⁿ. In his public answer to the marquis of Ormond's dispatches, he directs him to adhere to those terms he had already offered to the catholics, only, "*so far*" "*forth*" as he shall find it probable that they shall "rest satisfied to accept them." He allows him to consent to the suspension of Poynings' Law; but as to the demand of repealing the penal statutes, expressly directs him to adhere to his former answer. Yet, in a private letter, dated two days earlier^o, he formally engages, not only that the penal laws shall not be executed, the peace being made; but that when the Irish should give him the assistance they had promised, and he be restored to his rights, then, that he would consent to the repeal of them all by a law, except those against appeals to Rome, and the exercise of foreign jurisdiction within the realm. No concession could be more odious or more dangerous. He, therefore, directs that Ormond should communicate it only to the three popish agents, with injunctions of strictest secrecy.

A MONTH had scarcely elapsed when the king became still more complying. The commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge^p, had been urged as a motive to the Irish confederates, to conclude a peace before the king should be prevented from granting them any

^m Carte, Orm. Vol. II. Append. No. xv.

ⁿ Carte, Orm. vol. III

No. ccciv.

^o Vol. II. Append. No. xv.

^p Vol. II. No. xv.

any favour, by the stipulations which he might find necessary to be made with the English parliament. When this treaty was broken off, they were again told, that their very existence depended on their speedy and effectual support of the royal cause, as it appeared in the conferences, to be the determined purpose of the parliament to invest the Scots with the entire dominion and property of Ireland. Such popular topics were the more urgently enforced, as the king now deemed it more necessary to obtain some foreign succours, than in any former period of the civil war. The new projected model of the parliamentary army threatened some momentous consequences. As Charles expressed it to his queen, “ there was little or no appearance but that the approaching summer would be the hottest for war of any that had yet been^r.” With respect to the Irish, therefore, the king spurned at every scruple. He empowered, and commanded Ormond to make peace with the Irish, “ whatever it cost,” so that his protestant subjects might be secured^q, and his royal authority preserved in Ireland. “ You are to make me,” said the king, “ the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poynings’ act for such bills as shall be agreed on there, and THE PRESENT TAKING OFF THE PENAL LAWS against papists by a law will do it, I will not think it a hard bargain ; so that freely and vigourously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can
“ be

^q Vol. III. No. cccxv. ^r Rushworth. King’s Cabinet opened.
¹ Carte, Orm. Vol. II. No. xviii.

“ be too hard, not being against conscience or honour.”

WHATEVER plausible reasons might be urged to reconcile this repeal of the penal statutes to the conscience of the king, or his sentiments of honour, Ormond well knew the dangerous effects of such a measure, and particularly in a country where a vast majority of the inhabitants were popish. He was sincerely attached to the protestant religion; he knew the temper, the passions, the prejudices of the protestant party, and their horror of the least concession in favour of popery; the odium, and the danger in which he must be involved, by treating upon terms which the king could not avow: and he probably foresaw, that the Irish would be encouraged by such important concessions, to rise in their demands. No wonder, therefore, that on the first discovery of the king's disposition to recede from those terms which he had hitherto professed to hold most sacred, the marquis grew impatient of his present situation^t. He petitioned to be removed from the government, professing to apprehend, that the confederates expected more from a countryman and kinsman in this station, than could with propriety be granted, and that he must shortly be obliged to abandon it by want, or be reduced to a dishonourable subjection to the insolence of the Irish, or the covenanters.

CHARLES, and his ministers, were fully sensible of the value of Ormond's services in the lieutenancy of Ireland^u. He had just now approved his vigilance, by discovering and defeating a design formed by some partizans of the English parliament, to seize

^t Carte, Orm. Vol. I. p. 520.

^u A. D. 1645.

seize the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk. And his credit, his influence, and his attachment to the king, were considered as the only security to the royal cause, against the power of the catholics, and the subtilty and turbulence of the covenanters. To reconcile him to the burden of a station from which he could not be removed, Charles loaded him with such graces as in his present circumstances he could bestow; he enlarged his powers; and to encourage him to proceed with more alacrity in the delicate and dangerous transactions entrusted to his conduct, a general pardon of all offences, passed under the great seal, to the chief governour, privy counsellors, and others employed in any part of the king's service.

AMONG the additional powers granted to the marquis, he now received a commission which he had formerly solicited, for accepting the submissions of such Irish confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for restoring them to their estates and blood. Charles thus hoped to divide the counsels, and to prevent any cordial union of their party, should they still reject his concessions, and declare ultimately for war. To dispose them, at the same time, to an amicable treaty; and, particularly, to reconcile them to the continuance of the present Irish parliament, he condescended to declare, that the order made under the administration of Parsons, for excluding such members of the commons as should refuse the oath of supremacy, was an encroachment on his prerogative. The lord lieutenant was directed to require that this order should be vacated. The zealous protestants could not but feel the most serious apprehensions at this indulgence to popish recusants, which
must

must give them a formidable superiority in the Irish legislature. Their party had services and sufferings to plead. To prevent their clamours, and to dispose them favourably to the king, a bill was transmitted from England, and enacted in the parliament of Ireland, for remitting to the protestants of this kingdom, as well clergy as laity, all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas 1641, or at any time since, or to be due at Easter 1645.

IN the mean time, the Irish laboured with indefatigable zeal to strengthen their confederacy, so as to maintain a war, or conclude a peace with advantage to their cause. Foreign princes were solicited for succours. Burke, one of their ecclesiastics, was dispatched to Madrid. Richard Belling, secretary to the supreme council, an acute and active statesman, was commissioned to address himself to the pope, the Italian princes, and to the marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, governour of the Low-Countries; “ that they might know (as the letters of the confederates expressed it) what they had to trust to, “ and what succours they might really depend upon from abroad; and that in case they should be “ again forced to *serve God in holes and corners*, the “ world might be convinced they had laboured all “ they could to prevent this misfortune.” Their agents were also busily employed at Paris, and swarmed in the queen of England’s court, on her retreat to France. One of these, a middling ecclesiastic, called O’Hartegan, had so disgraced them by his presumption, vanity and indiscretion, that Belling was instructed to use all decent means to bring him back to Ireland. To recommend them-

selves to foreign courts, and to demonstrate their own power and consequence, about fourteen hundred foot were transported for the service of France, and other levies made for that of Spain, though, when Ormond applied to them to send two thousand men to the assistance of Montrose in Scotland, they repeatedly rejected, or evaded his demand^x. Their resolution was explicit, and they obstinately adhered to it, “ that they would send no men to the king’s
 “ assistance, until such a peace should be settled as
 “ might demonstrate that they had really taken
 “ arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it
 “ in its full splendour.”

NOR were they less vigorous in their military operations against those who declared for the parliament, and rejected the cessation. Scarcely had lord Esmond, governour of Duncannon, resolved to betray his fort to the parliament, when he had the mortification of finding himself neglected and abandoned by his new masters. The supreme council at Kilkenny were alarmed at the defection of this place, fearing that their trade would be destroyed by the ships in the service of the ROUND HEADS, as they called them, which lay securely in the river under protection of the fort. Their troops blocked up Duncannon on the land-side, in the beginning of January: but as the sea lay open, the blockade was converted into a regular siege, commanded by Preston the Leinster general. After a resistance of ten weeks, the fort surrendered: and Esmond, the governour, died in a few days after, worn out with age and vexation.

LORD INCHQUIN, equally neglected by the English

^x Carte, from Registry of the Supreme Council.

lish parliament, was encountered, on the expiration of his truce, by the earl of Castlehaven, at the head of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The earl over-ran the southern province, and reduced a number of forts without any considerable resistance. At Rostellan he had the triumph of seizing Henry O'Brien, who had betrayed Wareham to the English parliament, and sent him as a present to the king, to be punished for his disloyalty as his Majesty should deem fit. The forces of Inchiquin were unequal to those of the enemy, and so wretchedly were they provided, that he could not keep the field, so that he was obliged to shut himself up in Corke, while Castlehaven wasted the country even to the walls of this city. When he had, at length invested Youghal, lord Broghil arrived with some supplies from the English parliament. The earl raised the siege, and on the approach of winter retired to Kilkenny.

WHILE these things were transacting in the field, Dublin became a scene of almost perpetual negotiation. The treaty between Ormond and the Irish confederates was by appointment to be renewed on the tenth day of April. The confederates wished to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents, and weakly conceived, that by delaying their decisions until the king should be plunged into new and greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They proposed that the conferences should be still further postponed. The chief governour insisted, that they should be resumed on the day appointed. The Irish agents attended him, but not in such a number as their powers required. A week was thus lost. They then declared, that as their general assembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they could conclude nothing without their

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approbation;

approbation; that they were confined merely to deliver their propositions, and to debate the matter of them, desiring the best answers that could be afforded, and promising, if possible, to prevail upon their party to accept them.

ORMOND, with more liberal conceptions of the king's real interest, and greater solicitude for his honour than the unhappy prince himself discovered, concealed the additional powers he had received for consenting to the abrogation of the penal statutes. He treated on the terms formerly proposed, that the royal promise should be given, that these statutes should not be executed on the conclusion of a peace. He satisfied the Irish agents, that a suspension of Poynings' law was by no means necessary, as the king's concessions would be conveyed to them with equal speed and security in the ordinary course of parliamentary proceedings. Among some new graces to which he yielded, the Irish were to be released from all the king's rents and revenues they had received from the first insurrection; and all attainders, indictments, and outlawries against any of their party were to be vacated. It had formerly been agreed, that the king should confer all places of trust and honour in Ireland, with equal indifference on catholic and protestant subjects. By virtue of this agreement, the agents now affected to consider it as a settled point, that the king had obliged himself to employ an equal number of each party. Ormond opposed this dangerous interpretation, and peremptorily rejected the demand. Yet with a due mixture of dignity and condescension, he dismissed the agents apparently well disposed to peace; and was flattered with expectation, that their general assembly

bly would speedily decide in favour of the royal interests.

BUT this assembly, however apparently united in one common cause, was composed of discordant parties, influenced by various motives, and agitated by different passions. The Irish of Ulster were still conscious of their enormities, and impatient of being dispossessed of their hereditary possessions. They were, of consequence, obstinately determined against any peace which should not fully secure their persons, and utterly subvert the northern plantations. The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion laboured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. Too ignorant to discern, and too selfish to regard the real interest of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay prospects of riches, power, and magnificence, and intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the splendour of religion.

THE impatience which Charles expressed for a final accommodation with the Irish was not long a secret to their leaders; and fatally contributed to enflame their pride, and to defeat the purposes of this misguided prince. Had he relied solely on the marquis of Ormond for negotiating with the Irish, the zeal and abilities of this minister, assisted by the more moderate and intelligent of the confederates, might possibly have conducted the treaty to a seasonable conclusion, and obtained him such a reinforcement from Ireland, as would have had an important influence on his affairs. But Charles was now unhappily seduced into a vain dependence on secret councils and private agents.

AMONG

AMONG the most zealous partizans of this prince, was Edward Somerset, lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquis of Worcester. Attached to Charles not only by principlez, but personal affection, he had raised a considerable body of forces for his service at his own and his father's expence. In return for his services, a warrant passed under the royal sign manual for creating him earl of Glamorgan; and although his patent had not received the great seal, he assumed, and was generally addressed by this title, even by the king. His manners were gentle and conciliating, his imagination lively, his temper sanguine, and the opinion which he entertained of his own consequence was encreased by some enormous instances of royal favour. Charles, amused with hopes of vast services to be performed by this lord, had created him generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, with a power of naming all the inferiour officers of this imaginary body. He empowered him to contract with any of his subjects for wardships, customs, or any of his rights and prerogatives; entrusted him with blank patents, to be filled at his pleasure for conferring titles of honour, with a promise of his daughter Elizabeth to the son of this favourite in marriage, with a portion of three hundred thousand pounds. He was a Roman catholic, and attached to this religion with remarkable zeal. He had taken to his second wife, Margaret O'Brien daughter of the late earl, and sister of the present earl of Thomond; so that he had some possessions, and was allied to some of the most powerful families in Ireland.

GLAMORGAN, on some real, or pretended business,

ness^a, declared his resolution of visiting this kingdom about the end of the year sixteen hundred and forty-four. The king recommended him to the lord-lieutenant, informing him that he had engaged this lord to further the peace by every possible means, expressing the utmost confidence in his affection and integrity; yet, at the same time, hinting some suspicion of his judgment. At first view it may appear extraordinary, that the king should employ a man for whose judgment he declared he could not answer in a transaction which required the utmost circumspection and address. But, if we suppose him conscious, that he might hereafter find it necessary to disavow the transactions of Glamorgan, such a previous declaration to his lord lieutenant is at once accounted for: it was made purposely to give the greater force and plausibility to his disavowal. The marquis received from his friends no very favourable representations of Glamorgan and his undertakings: yet, in his public dispatches^b, he expressed a solicitude for his arrival in Ireland; at the same time, that he disclaimed a particular knowledge of any commissions or instructions he was to bring with him. These commissions, however, were the subject of much discourse among the king's friends^c. The confederate Irish were filled with magnificent expectations from a nobleman of such influence and power, connected with them both by affinity and religion, to be sent into Ireland, with full authority to hear their demands, and to grant them such conditions as could not be yielded by the intervention of any other agent, nor publicly acknowledged in the king's present embarrassments.

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^a Carte, *Orm*. Vol. II. No. xiii.^b Vol. III. No. cccclxxxvi.^c Birch, *Inquiry*.

NOR were the Irish less elevated by the success of their embassy to Rome, and the attention paid them by the Holy See. Innocent the Tenth was naturally solicitous to distinguish the commencement of his popedom by some extraordinary expression of zeal for the interests of religion. He received Belling, minister of the confederate Irish, with particular respect; and, in return to their application, resolved to send a nuncio into Ireland, who should take advantage of the present circumstances of this kingdom, for restoring and establishing the Romish religion, and reducing the people, if not tributary to the apostolic see, at least to be subject to the gentle yoke of the pope's spiritual power. The person chosen for this office was John Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, eloquent, graceful, and conciliating in his address, regular, and even austere in his life, but ambitious, fiery, and vain, bigotted, and superstitious, with an extravagance of spiritual pride, and even a fanatical prepossession, that he was the appointed instrument of Providence for the conversion of the western islands.

AMONG other instructions for promoting the great general purpose of his mission, he was directed to unite the prelates of Ireland in a firm declaration for war, until their religion should be completely established, and the government of the kingdom entrusted to a catholic lord lieutenant. In the meantime, he was to practise with the marquis of Ormond, to prevail on him, if possible, to deliver up Dublin and Drogheda to the Irish, and, above all things, to return to the bosom of the Roman church. In his way to Ireland, he was directed to visit the queen of
England

England at Paris, to assure her that religion was the sole object of his mission, and that no designs were entertained against the prerogatives of the crown of England; and, at the same time, to dissuade her from some intention she had expressed of going to Ireland, as her presence might embarrass the religionists, and give strength to the neutral and moderate party, besides the expence of her establishment, which might be more usefully employed in war.

THE expectation of two such distinguished personages destined to favour and support the cause of the confederate Irish, elevated their hopes, and exalted those ideas of their own consequence, which had been inspired by success, and the condescensions of the king. Their general assembly indeed, in their new session, on the fifteenth of May, received the propositions of the marquis with so much temper, that the penal statutes seemed the only remaining obstacle to peace. The earl of Clanricarde expressed his confidence to the chief governour, that if he would grant a repeal of these statutes, a final accommodation must immediately ensue, and that the Irish would at once embark their lives and fortunes in the royal cause^e. But the Irish clergy now sat in convocation, factious, proud, selfish, and even the least exceptionable of their order, zealous to recommend themselves to the pope and his minister, by an extraordinary solicitude for the interests of the church. They declared, that by the oath of association, the confederate catholics were bound to stipulate expressly, that the churches, abbeys, monasteries, and chapels, now in their possession, should forever be retained. The more moderate of the assembly were provoked. They demanded, that this declaration,

which loaded them with an infamous charge of perjury, should be retracted. After various altercations, the clergy could be only prevailed on to declare, that they meant not to involve the agents of a peace, in the guilt of perjury, though no express article should be inserted for keeping possession of the churches, provided that the effect should be obtained. With all the zeal of men fired with the prospect of riches and honours, they thundered the danger of the church into the ears of their bigotted followers; they declaimed against the impiety of any peace, which should not invest their prelates with full jurisdiction, together with the right of sitting in parliament now usurped by protestants: they taught them to combine, to declare, and to protest against the present treaty. And, although the assembly pronounced such proceedings to be seditious and traitorous, yet so far were they influenced by the ecclesiastical party, that they refused to restore the churches to the protestants; and rejected every expedient proposed for removing this new obstacle to a peace.

THE battle of Naseby, so fatal to the king's cause, served to encrease the arrogance of the confederates. Instead of reflecting, that their own fortune was involved in that of the king, and that the final triumph of the popular party threatened their nation and religion with all these consequences which Charles had foretold, they imagined, in their vanity and presumption, that they might demand new concessions, and extort new advantages from the misfortune of this prince. Their propositions, with respect both to their civil and religious interests, grew every day more and more enormous. They demanded, that the plantations formed in Wicklow and Kilkenny should be instantly abolished, and those
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of still greater consequence in the northern province, should be considered in a free parliament, and all grievances arising from these establishments examined and redressed; that they should retain the forts and cities they possessed, and exercise their government until all the articles of peace were irrevocably confirmed by an act of parliament; that they should not only have an equality of numbers and eminence of places in all civil and military offices, but that the king's favour should be manifested in this respect, by some immediate instances; that they should have schools and universities; that their prelates should exercise jurisdiction without controul; that all penal statutes, whether enacted against recusants by Henry and Elizabeth, or in earlier reigns against provisors, should be utterly abolished; and that the churches in their possession should neither be demanded nor expected.

CHARLES, in the first shock of consternation, doubted whether his defeat had not rendered all Irish succours useless to his affairs. He expressed his indignation at these extravagant demands; he directed Ormond, that if the Irish should take so unworthy an advantage of his weakness, as to reject a peace on any other terms, he should, if possible, procure a further cessation; if not, endeavour to divide their party, and rather leave all things to the chance of war, than grant such an allowance of popery as must evidently prove destructive to the protestant profession. This prince, however, flattered himself, on recollection, that Irish troops might still be usefully employed. Lord Digby was directed to write to lord Muskerry, and the other agents, who formerly attended at Oxford, to remind them of their fair

professions to the king, and to represent the danger to their own party, from insisting on demands repugnant to his honour and conscience, and which no extremity of distress ever could extort from him. Ormond briefly stated the sum of those concessions which the Irish might expect. They differed little from those already offered. He consented to a repeal of the penal statutes enacted against recusants; and to convince them of his Majesty's intentions to employ all his subjects of Ireland with equal indifference, offered that a body of Catholics, consisting of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse should be added to the king's army on perfecting the articles of peace.

EVERY possible contrivance was employed to delay the answer to these propositions of the chief governor; for the earl of Glamorgan was every day expected, and after escaping many dangers from ships commissioned by the English parliament, at length arrived in Ireland. On preparing for his journey he had amused the king with magnificent expectations^h. He promised in the month of June to lead six thousand Irish forces into England; to reinforce them with four thousand royalists of Wales; to block up Milford Haven with his transports; to advance thirty thousand pounds, with a considerable quantity of arms, and to raise the sum of thirty thousand more. But he was detained too long in England to fulfil these vast engagements: nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the end of July. He was received by the marquis of Ormond with the attention due to a nobleman highly favoured and entrusted by the king; and on his departure to Kilkenny was recommended to lord Muskerry, in a letter from the marquis,

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as a person whose authority with the king, and whose innate nobility might be especially relied on, and one whom the chief governour would endeavour to serve above all others, in every thing which he should undertake for the service of his Majesty; and with whom he would most readily agree for the benefit of the kingdom.

If the particular instructions or commissions granted to Glamorgan were not communicated to the lord lieutenant; it appears, at least, from this warmth of recommendation, that he considered the earl as a person duly authorised to treat with the Irish^k. The Irish were offended at that stateliness with which Ormond conducted their treaty. Their zealots considered him as secretly disaffected, and, in conjunction with a presbyterian council, (as they called them) determined to defeat the king's hopes of succour, by obstructing the Irish peace. To this they attributed every delay: and when the seizure of the king's cabinet at Naseby discovered his private instructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace whatever it might cost, they were enraged^l, and printed the letter with severe animadversions on the marquiss. In such a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular satisfaction: and taking advantage of the letter written by Ormond to lord Muskerry, affected to consider it as a formal stipulation on the part of the chief governour, to concur with the earl in all his transactions, and to ratify all his engagements.

Two commissions from the king were produced by Glamorgan to the confederates^m. The first was dated on the sixth day of January, 1645, N. S. and
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^k Aphorismical Discovery. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

^l Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccy. ^m Birch's Inquiry.

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is thus translated from the Latin of Rinuccini's
Memoirs.

“ CHARLES R.

“ WHEREAS we have had sufficient and ample
“ testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity,
“ so great is the confidence we repose in you, as that
“ whatsoever you shall perform, as warranted under
“ our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark,
“ or even by word of mouth, without farther cere-
“ mony, we do in the word of a King and a Chris-
“ tian, promise to make good to all intents and pur-
“ poses, as effectually, as if your authority from us
“ had been under the great seal of England, with
“ this advantage, that we shall esteem ourself the
“ more obliged to you for your galantry, in not
“ standing upon such nice terms to do us service,
“ which we shall, God willing, reward. And al-
“ though you exceed what law can warrant, or any
“ powers of ours reach unto, as not knowing what
“ you have need of ; yet it being for our service, we
“ oblige ourself, not only to give you our pardon, but
“ to maintain the same with all our might and power,
“ and though either by accident, or by any other
“ occasion, you shall deem it necessary to deposite
“ any of our warrants, and so want them at your
“ return, we faithfully promise to make them good
“ at your return, and to supply any thing, wherein
“ they shall be found defective, it not being conve-
“ nient for us at this time to dispute upon them ;
“ for of what we have here set down you may rest
“ confident, if their be faith and truth in men.
“ Proceed therefore, chearfully, speedily, and bold-
“ ly ; and for your so doing, this shall be your suf-
“ ficient warrant.

GIVEN

“ GIVEN at our court at Oxford, under our sign
“ manual and private signet, this 12th of January,
“ 1644.”

THE second, more formal and particular, and that on which the earl chiefly rested his authority, was dated the twelfth of the succeeding month of March, when Ormond had discovered his reluctance to continue in his office, or to treat with the Irish on such liberal concessions as the king had empowered him to grant. It was conceived in the following terms.

“ CHARLES R.

“ CHARLES by the grace of God, of England,
“ Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the
“ faith, &c. to our trusty and right well beloved
“ cousin, Edward earl of Glamorgan, greeting.
“ We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do
“ by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all
“ intents and purposes) authorise and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon
“ necessity any to be condescended unto, wherein
“ our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not
“ fit for us at present publicly to own. Therefore
“ we charge you, to proceed according to this our
“ warrant, with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall
“ deem fit, we promise on the word of a king and a christian, to ratify and perform the same, that
“ shall be granted to you, and under your hand and
“ seal; the said confederate catholics having by their
“ supplies

“ supplies testified their zeal to our service. And
 “ this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient
 “ warrant.

“ GIVEN at our court at Oxford, under our signet
 “ and royal signature, the 12th of March, in the
 “ twentieth year of our reign, 1644.”

BY virtue of this commission, Glamorgan entered on a private treaty with the confederates, with a vain impatience to be distinguished, as the leader of ten thousand Irish forces, and the person who was to restore the king to his independence, power, and splendour. Abbati Scarampi, agent to the pope, remonstrated against the scheme of making peace publicly with the marquis, and privately with the earl, and of separating the religious from the civil articles: yet within about one month after his arrival the treaty was concluded.

ON the king's part it was agreed by Glamorgan, that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possess all the churches not actually enjoyed by protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be exempted from that of the protestant clergy; that an act of parliament should be made to confirm these concessions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of trust and dignity; that the marquis of Ormond should not disturb the catholics in these, or other articles to which the earl had condescended, until his majesty's pleasure should be signified, for confirming them. And, for the due performance of all these articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was stipulated, that ten thousand men should be

be sent by order of their general assembly, to serve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and such other officers as the confederates should appoint; and that two thirds of the revenues of the clergy should be assigned to the maintenance of this body for three years.

IN explanation of these articles, the confederates for the present, receded from the demand of an act of parliament for securing the concessions to the clergy, as difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty. Glamorgan engaged, that these should be settled in another way equally secure; and bound himself by oath, to acquaint the king with his proceedings, “ in order to his service, and the punctual performance of what he had (as authorised by his Majesty) obliged himself to see performed; and in default, not to permit the army entrusted to his charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed.” With an additional caution, the general assembly resolved, that their union and oath of association should remain firm and in full strength, until the articles of this peace should be ratified in parliament.

IN consequence of this treaty, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth day of August, the general assembly, on the ninth of the succeeding month, passed a vote for levying ten thousand men for the royal service; and, as it was still necessary to continue the public treaty with Ormond, Glamorgan, who was impatient for the honour of conducting such a reinforcement into England, solicited the

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marquis

marquis to all the concessions he was authorised to grant, and for the rest to appeal to his Majesty.

ON the renewal of the treaty with Ormond, every article relative to the civil interest of the confederates was debated with due temper, and adjusted without difficulty. The propositions with respect to religion were extravagant and insidious, amounting to nothing less than a legal establishment, not only of the Romish worship, but the papal jurisdiction. Ormond cautiously opposed these demands. The Irish agents, conscious of the transactions with Glamorgan, proposed that no clause in the treaty should preclude the Catholics from such further graces as his Majesty might be pleased to grant. The proposal was accepted. Lord Digby now arrived in Dublin, and laboured to conciliate the Irish and expedite their succours. It was mutually agreed, that all the propositions relative to religion, the great obstacle to an accommodation, should be referred entirely to his Majesty. The peace seemed on the point of final settlement; the king every moment expected the embarkation of his Irish succours, when new difficulties arose, and the very means employed for his service, defeated the purposes of this unhappy prince.

CHAP. VII.

Rinunccini sent to Ireland as nuncio.—His conferences with the queen at Paris.—Projects of the English catholics.—The nuncio arrives at Kilkenny.—His reception by the supreme council.—His conferences with Glamorgan.—His objections to the treaty of peace.—His practices with the popish bishops.—He obtains new concessions from Glamorgan.—Military affairs.—Sligo taken.—Attempt to recover it.—Defeat and death of the archbishop of Tuam.—Glamorgan's private treaty disclosed.—He is impeached by lord Digby, and imprisoned.—His examination before the council.—His conference with Ormond.—His liberty demanded by the supreme council.—He is discharged.—His transactions disavowed by the king.—The king's private letters to Ormond and Glamorgan.—Zeal and artifice of the nuncio in opposition to the peace.—Delays and altercations.—New concessions of Glamorgan.—His engagements and promises to the nuncio.—His confident assurances to the king.—Treaty concluded with the marquis of Ormond.—He is solicited to join with the Irish against the parliamentarians.—His cautious and spirited answers.—The king's letter from the Scottish army.—Lord Digby's declarations.—The peace ratified and proclaimed,—opposed by the nuncio.—Ignorance and bigotry of this prelate.—He engages Owen O'Nial in his service.—Battle of Benburb.—Effects of this action.—Proclamation of the peace opposed in several cities.—The adherents of the peace excommunicated.—Ormond invited to Kilkenny.—Is received with joy.—Project to intercept him.—He regains the capital.—Nuncio's entry into Kilkenny.—He imprisons the

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members

members of the supreme council, and appoints a new council.---Vain expectations of Glamorgan and the nuncio.---Preparations for the defence of Dublin.---Ormond treats with the English parliament.---The confederates invest Dublin.----Their demands.-----Their dissensions.---Digby and Clanricarde practise with the nuncio and Preston.---Sudden retreat of the confederates.---Treaty between Clanricarde and Preston.---Negociation of the marquis of Ormond with the parliament broken off.---Ormond reluctantly involves himself in the engagements of Clanricarde.---Preston suddenly reconciled to the nuncio.----A new general assembly declares against the peace.-----Ormond renews his treaty with the parliament.----Futile attempts of the confederates to defeat it.----The parliamentarians masters of Dublin.---Ormond resigns the sword of state, and departs from Ireland.

DURING the whole course of negociation, a numerous party of the confederates had discovered a solicitude to restore the public peace^P. They saw the necessity of supporting the king; were willing to accept terms of moderate advantage to their party; and contented with a free enjoyment of their religion, without the splendour of a public establishment. The clergy did not fail to inveigh against this desertion of the church. Their agents at Rome represented the danger, from impious temporizers labouring to conclude a peace without due provision for the interests of religion; and to avert it, Rinuccini was directed to hasten into Ireland.

It was justly dreaded by the king's friends^q; that the

the presence of this nuncio, and his practices with the Irish clergy, would prove a dangerous embarrassment to a treaty too long protracted; and suspend, if not prevent the succours expected from the confederates. The queen of England would gladly have detained him at Paris until the Irish treaty should be concluded^r. He had intimated a desire of attending her with the usual solemnity, and presenting his credentials in a public audience. But the law of England did not allow the admission of a foreign minister without consent of the king and council; and the English protestants of her court warned her Majesty of the danger of such a visit, which would imply a treaty between the king and the pope. The nuncio was too tenacious of the honour of the holy see, to accept a private audience: so that their correspondence was carried on by the intervention of the attendants on each side, Sir Dudley Wyat and Dominic Spinola.

THE nuncio expressed his attachment to the king, and, according to his instructions, endeavoured to convince her Majesty that the business on which he was to proceed would prove the most effectual means of restoring his power and authority. The queen, with equal insincerity, declared her satisfaction at his being appointed to go to Ireland, and the hopes she entertained that by his mediation a firm peace would be established between her royal consort and the Irish, an event equally necessary to the interests of both. She represented the danger to the Catholic confederates, should the king be totally subdued, or forced to an agreement with his adversaries. Hence she inferred the necessity, that the Irish should moderate their demands, and not “endeavour to
“ extort

“ extort THE WHOLE at once.” She mentioned her desire, that the nuncio should stay at Paris until the treaty should be finished; that by his endeavours with the pope, he might have the honour of giving success to an affair so ardently desired by all the powers of Europe, who justly trembled at the ruin of the king of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the English parliamentarians with the Huguenots and Dutch, a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

THIS intimation was enforced by a memorial which the nuncio received from the catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the queen to apply for subsidies at Rome. They solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English catholics be equally secured. They proposed to unite with their brethren of Ireland, so as to form one army for defence of the king; but insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance: “ The king,” said they “ is not to be trusted, “ when his interest may tempt him to agree with “ his parliament, to whom he hath so often solemn- “ ly declared his resolution to consent to any severi- “ ties against the catholics. And that there can be “ no reliance on his word, appears from the case of “ the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he “ sacrificed, though sworn to protect them.”

IN this bustle of negotiation, the nuncio amused himself with the flattering idea, that he had proceeded considerably in the glorious work of extirpating the northern heresy, the object of his labours, and pro-

professedly the final object of the English Catholics. The queen was solicitous for an absolute pacification in Ireland. The Catholics of England also, represented it as the first necessary step to all their measures, and the means of transporting such a body of Irish troops, as, in conjunction with the English of the same religious profession, would at once serve the king, and over-awe him, so as to extort the performance of those conditions, which, if left to his own free choice, he might not grant. A scheme was now revived, for transferring the conduct of the Irish treaty to the queen of England and queen regent of France. The nuncio was thus further flattered at the prospect of that important part he was to take in this negotiation, and being regarded as umpire between the king and the Catholic confederates. But the court of Rome deemed his presence necessary in Ireland, to preserve the interests of the church. He was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey, embarked, and arrived at Kilkenny on the twelfth day of November, when the negotiation with Ormond seemed hastening to a conclusion.

IN his first audience of the supreme council he professed the fairest intentions of promoting the interests of religion and the peace of the kingdom ^f. The council on their part assured him, that all their proceedings should be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the several concessions granted by the lord lieutenant in civil affairs; and those of a religious nature yielded by the earl of Glamorgan, a catholic nobleman highly trusted, and duly authorised by the king, to satisfy the confederates in those points which retarded the peace. They explained the necessity of observing privacy with respect

^f Carte, Vol. I. p. 561.

pect to these religious concessions, until the king should be enabled and emboldened to avow them. Some concessions also with respect to religion they had endeavoured to obtain from the marquis of Ormond; and, although they had not succeeded to their utmost wishes, yet care had been taken that nothing should be admitted into the public articles inconsistent with the private concessions of the earl of Glamorgan. In such a situation, they observed, it was of the utmost importance to determine what might still be requisite for the preservation of their religion, and support of the king, as his necessities were urgent, the power of the English parliament formidable, and the cessation speedily to determine.

GLAMORGAN also addressed himself to the nuncio, with particular deference^t. He declared the utmost reverence for his character, a firm resolution of acting entirely with his concurrence and by his direction; explained the nature of his commissions to treat with the Irish, together with several other powers he had received from the king, and which demonstrated the extraordinary confidence his Majesty reposed in him. He shewed him a letter from the king, sealed, and addressed to pope Innocent the Tenth, as a proof of his attachment to the holy see: and to the nuncio himself, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expressed satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland; desiring him to unite with the earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve; recommending a punctual observance of secrecy, and assuring him, that although this letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. “ When the earl, ” said he, “ and
“ you

^t Birch, from the Nuncio's Memoirs.

“ you have concerted your measures, we shall openly
 “ shew ourself, as we have assured him,—Your
 “ friend.”

THE only effect of such condescensions was to make this vain ecclesiastic more confident and assuming. He objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty as insufficient and precarious. He condemned the design of publishing the political articles, while the religious were suppressed, a matter of great scandal to foreigners, who would obviously conclude, that the honour and freedom of religion had been sacrificed to temporal advantages. The performance of these religious articles, he observed, was doubtful and insecure; the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could insist on such a confirmation, might be suddenly taken off by death. If the confederates were cautious of alienating the protestants, by publishing the religious articles, they should be at least equally cautious of alienating the pope and all christian princes by suppressing them. And even in these boasted articles, he observed, no mention had been made of a catholic lord lieutenant, no provision for Catholic bishops and universities, no stipulation for a continuance of the supreme council, or government of the confederates. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections. Various papers were drawn up, discussed, answered, without any effect, but to confirm the nuncio in his own opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpose of an immediate accommodation.

THE nuncio, when he found it impracticable to bring the council into his own measures, resolved

to give every opposition in his power to their sentiments. He summoned the Romish bishops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined with him in a protestation against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it. Their instrument was not to be produced, “until the treaty “should be *abruptly* or *preposterously* concluded by “the council.” Such was the affected style of their resolutions. The nuncio, in the next place, addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely observed that the king should no longer be deceived by heretics; that the safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of all his catholic subjects with those of other countries; that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to secure the Irish, by granting all their just petitions; and that his lordship was bound to apply those extensive powers with which he was entrusted, to the service of the king and monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith. The earl, whose temper and understanding were nearly on a level with those of the Italian prelate, readily yielded to these instances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Irish army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under their regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council should subsist until all the private articles were ratified.

BUT all these secret negotiations were suddenly discon-

disconcerted by a particular incident. To explain it, we must take notice of some military transactions, which might otherwise be disregarded.

WHILE the Irish confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern covenanters rebels^w, he was industrious rather to reconcile these forces to the king's service and government. Neglected as they were by the English parliament, they expressed their discontents with sufficient warmth: and not only the old British troops, but even Monroe and his Scots shewed some disposition to unite with the chief governour, upon moderate and reasonable terms. The parliament, alarmed at the consequences of such an union, resolved to send ten thousand pounds, some cloaths, and provisions, for the service of Ulster; and that a committee of their own body should visit this province, examine the state of the soldiery, and hear their complaints. In the mean time, Sir Charles Coote, their trusty partizan, whom they had lately commissioned to command in Connaught, was dispatched with a requisition to the British generals of the North, that they should assist him against the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of strength. After some hesitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were detached from the Scottish and English forces. They marched without opposition. Sligo was readily surrendered; and all the adjacent counties exposed to their depredations, to the extreme annoyance both of the rebels and the loyal inhabitants. The earl of Clanricarde, who could have suppressed these outrages, had been denied the presidency of Connaught on the death of lord Ranelagh;

lagh; and, with an high sense of his own dignity, refused to accept the military command, under the order of the new presidents, lord Wilmot and lord Dillon of Costello.

IN this exigence, the marquis of Ormond commissioned lord Taafé to suppress those who violated the cessation, or broke into the quarters of the loyalists in Connaught: and, with the assistance of Clanricarde, and others of the western province, this lord proceeded with success. At the same time, the confederates of Kilkenny, no less alarmed and provoked at the hostilities of the Northerners, directed Sir James Dillon one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the assistance of the popish archbishop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the assault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the British garrison, when his forces were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a strong northern army just approaching. They retired, were vigourously attacked and routed by Sir Charles Coote; the archbishop fell in this action; and, in ransacking his baggage, the victors found among other papers of consequence, a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which the earl of Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, and in which was contained a distinct recital of his commission, and of his oath to the confederates.

AN acquisition so important was instantly transmitted to the English parliament. The papers were printed, and industriously dispersed, to the dishonour of the king, the scandal of his protestant adherents, and the utmost exultation of his triumphant enemies.

Copies

Copies were sent to the lord lieutenant and lord Digby, at Dublin; others were in the hands of many Irish subjects. Those of the popish party who thus discovered the fulness of the king's concessions, were extravagantly elated; the protestants astonished and dismayed, and the ministers terrified at the prospect of a general revolt of the whole party^x. The effect natural to be expected from this discovery, was nothing less than that all good protestants, (as lord Digby expressed it) should "conclude that the scandals formerly cast upon his Majesty of inciting the Irish rebellion, were true; and that he designed to introduce popery, even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious." Something was necessarily to be done for allaying the general ferment, and this with such speed as might manifest an impatience to vindicate the king's honour. So great a zeal did lord Digby express against the proceedings of Glamorgan, that it is sometimes imputed not to a concern for that religion which he afterwards abandoned, but to a sinister design of supplanting this earl in the command of the Irish troops. He seduced Glamorgan to Dublin, under the pretence of adjusting some preliminaries necessary to the immediate transportation of three thousand forces promised by the Irish, and destined for the relief of Chester. In a few days after his arrival, he charged the earl before the privy council, of a suspicion of high treason, and moved that his person might be secured.

To support this charge, the treaty, the oath, and the commission of Glamorgan, dated on the twelfth of March, were all read at the council board^y. Lord Digby declared, that any such pretended authority from his Majesty must be either forged or surreptitiously

^x Inquiry, p. 98 Rushworth.

^y Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxviii.

ously obtained; or if possibly the earl had any colour of authority, that it was limited by some private instructions; “ for most confident he was, that the
 “ king, to redeem his crown, his own life, the
 “ lives of his queen and children, would not grant
 “ to the confederates the least piece of concessions
 “ so destructive both to his regality and religion.”

SUCH was the ministerial language used to the council; yet Digby must have been satisfied, as he declared to secretary Nicholasz, that “ it was almost
 “ impossible for any man to be so mad, as to enter
 “ into such an agreement, without powers from his
 “ Majesty.” Nor could Ormond seriously believe that the king was incapable of granting such a commission as Glamorgan pleaded, or of ratifying his transactions with the Irish, when he considered the extent of those powers he himself had received from his Majesty. To gain the Irish to his service, Charles had at first directed him to assure them, that the penal statutes should not be executed. In the next place, he empowered him to promise, that they should be repealed on the conclusion of a peace. When this concession proved ineffectual, we find him authorising his lord lieutenant to consent to their immediate repeal; and that recusants should be relieved from all disabilities of enjoying offices of trust and honour. They had not yet demanded possession of the churches. When they had been encouraged to insist on this article, the king, indeed, in his public dispatches, urged the unreasonableness of such a requisition, and the impossibility of granting it consistently with his honour or conscience. Yet, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, he discovers no inconsiderable pliancy even in this obnoxious

ous article^a. “ You must not understand this”, saith Charles, “ as a permission for you to grant the “ Irish (in case they will not otherwise have a peace) “ any thing more in matter of religion, than what “ I have allowed you already; EXCEPT only in some “ convenient parish, where the much greater number are papists, I give you power to permit them “ to have some places, which they may use as “ chapels for their devotion, if there be no other “ expedient for obtaining a peace.” The expressions appear cautious and moderate; and therefore, probably, have not been noticed by those writers who form their ideas from the circumstances of England. But in Ireland, at this period, there was scarcely a single parish which did not precisely correspond with the description of the king. So that Ormond, had he proved equally complying with his master, might, by virtue of this authority, have every where granted churches to the catholics, and established their public worship through the whole kingdom.

FROM these circumstances, it seems improbable, that Ormond really believed that a nobleman, who, he knew, had been employed by the king to negotiate with the Irish, whom, in consequence of this knowledge, he himself had recommended to the Irish, should forge the commission specified in his treaty; or that he had transgressed any private limitations prescribed by the king, when the articles of this treaty scarcely amounted to any thing more than Ormond had himself been empowered to grant^b. Yet, to allay the public ferment, Glamorgan was committed to custody, and, the next day, examined before a committee of the council. He freely confessed

^a Carte, Vol. III, No. cccc. ^b Carte, Vol. I. p. 553. No. ccccxviii.

ed the whole transaction, referring for particulars to the counterpart of the articles lying among his papers, and which he afterwards produced. He declared, that he had not consulted with any but the parties with whom he had made the agreement, “ that what he did was not, as he conceived, obligatory to his Majesty:” to which he added, on recollection, “ and yet, without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience.” He conceived, that he was authorised by his commission to conclude the treaty; yet he declared, that he had not engaged his Majesty’s faith and honour further than by shewing his authority, and depositing it with the confederates. In the copy of his oath, as published by the English parliament, the engagement was expressed with remarkable strength and precision, that the earl should not “ permit the army entrusted to his charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed.” In that now presented to the council, there was the following material addition—“ or his pleasure known.”

To justify the authenticity of this addition, and the truth of his declarations to the council, the earl, in a private conference with the marquis of Ormond, produced the original of a DEFEAZANCE, signed the day after the signature of his treaty, and by the same parties. It declared, that the earl did no way intend by his engagements, “ to oblige his Majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received the ten thousand men. Yet he faithfully promised upon his word and honour, not to acquaint his Majesty with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his Majesty to grant the particulars of
“ the

“ the treaty: but that done, the commissioners
 “ discharged the earl of Glamorgan, both in ho-
 “ nour and conscience of any farther engagement
 “ to them therein, though his Majesty should
 “ not be pleased to grant the said particulars:
 “ the earl, at the same time, engaging by his vo-
 “ luntary oath, never to discover this defeazance in
 “ the interim to any person whatever, without con-
 “ sent of the commissioners.” As he had deposited
 the commission quoted in his treaty with the con-
 federates, he produced that other, and more general
 letter, dated on the twelfth of January: and which,
 with injunctions of secrecy, he permitted Ormond
 to copy. He utterly denied that he had received any
 particular instructions from the king, by which he
 might be directed or limited in his negociation. He
 declared, that he had acted entirely from a zeal for
 the service of his Majesty, to accelerate the Irish
 forces, without obliging the king to any particular
 articles which he might disapprove; and from which,
 possibly, the confederates might recede, rather than
 recal their men when already landed in England. It
 doth not appear, that he confessed to Ormond his
 transactions with the nuncio, and the extravagant
 concessions to which he had been seduced by this
 prelate, or that these were at all communicated even
 to the confederate commissioners. One paper he
 sent for to Kilkenny, to the great alarm of the con-
 federates, who apprehended, that the discovery of
 it would produce dangerous distraction in their pro-
 ceedings. This, however, he secreted: so that the
 whole of his transactions remains still unknown”*.

* Mr. Carte has inattentively hazarded a conjecture, whether the
 secreted paper might not have been the duplicate of Glamorgan's trea-
 ty, or the defeazance. Of both these Ormond was furnished with
 copies,

IN his confinement, Glamorgan discovered no part of that dejection or terroure, natural from a consciousness of fraud, forgery, or any unwarrantable transaction. On the other hand, to his wife and to his friends, when writing or speaking with the utmost confidence, he expressed even a contempt of Digby's accusation. The intelligence of his imprisonment was received at Kilkenny with indignation and rage. The more violent clamoured for arms, and were for instantly demanding him at the walls of Dublin^d. The supreme council laboured to allay this flame; but were obliged to summon a new general assembly. The assembly, after a few days recollection, seemed convinced that all the severity expressed against Glamorgan was dissembled, and that the government could not really entertain a doubt of his innocence. For they applied to the lord lieutenant, not that the charge against this earl should be examined, but that he should be immediately released; as three thousand men were ready to embark for the relief of Chester, and nothing wanting but transports, for which Glamorgan had contracted; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace, could proceed until he should be set at liberty. The lord lieutenant and council, as if persuaded that enough had been already done to vindicate the king's honour, and that his present service might be injured by continuing their affected resentment

copies. It is not impossible, but it might have contained some arrangements respecting the intended expedition into England; and possibly a nomination of officers. This, if prematurely discovered, must have offended many of their party, who found themselves neglected, or not promoted according to their notions of their own desert. And hence might have arisen the apprehensions of the confederates, that the discovery of this paper would produce dangerous distraction in their proceedings.

ment against Glamorgan, began now to speak more tenderly of his offence. They imputed it to an injudicious zeal for the interest of the crown; they accepted sureties for his appearance; they dismissed him to Kilkenny; and, with a confidence not to be reposed in any man really suspected of high treason, they commissioned him to treat with the confederates for the transportation of forces to Chester, for the remittance of three thousand pounds to Dublin to supply the king's army, and for hastening their agents to conclude the treaty so long depending with the marquis of Ormond.

HE was successful only in the last particular. Ormond was attended by two principal agents, Darcy and Browne. He had already offered the civil articles of peace in the very terms proposed by the confederates; and, on the first imprisonment of Glamorgan, transmitted them to Kilkenny, to prevent any dangerous impression from this incident. Nothing more seemed necessary than to prepare the instruments to be laid before the general assembly for a formal approbation. But new occasions of opposition, and new difficulties arose in this assembly. Lord Digby had protested with vehemence against the religious articles granted by the earl of Glamorgan. The king disavowed them in his declaration to the English parliament. He professed, that as the earl had offered to raise forces in Ireland for his service, he had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only; none to treat of any other matter without the privity and directions of the lord lieutenant, "much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion." In a letter to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, he declared, that as

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the peace could not be obtained but by some indulgence to the catholics, in point of freeing them from the penalties imposed on the exercise of their religion, and as such indulgence in a public transaction might haply give scandal, he had therefore privately instructed his lieutenant to assure the catholics, in a less public way, of exemption from these penalties, and of such other graces as might be afforded, without blemish to his honour and conscience, or prejudice to his protestant subjects; that he had informed the earl of Glamorgan of these secret instructions; that knowing his interest with the catholic party, he thought he might be of use in persuading them to moderation, and to rest satisfied with these concessions; that he had strictly confined him to these, and to act nothing but by directions of the lieutenant. To this end, and with such limitations, “it is possible,” said Charles, “we might have thought fit to give the earl of Glamorgan such a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman catholics in case you, the lieutenant, should find occasion to make use of him, as a farther assurance to them of what you should privately promise; or, in case you should judge it necessary for their greater confidence to manage those matters apart by him.” This he declares to be all, and the very bottom of what he might have possibly intrusted to the earl in this affair, expresses his regret that he had not employed a wiser man, repeats his assurance, that as he had not much regard to the abilities of Glamorgan, he had bound him to take directions from the lieutenant both in the matter and manner of his negociation; and commands that lord Digby’s charge be thoroughly and diligently prosecuted.

AT the very time of writing this public letter,
Charles,

Charlesg, by another to the marquis of Ormond, privately directed, that the execution of any sentence against Glamorgan should be suspended; as the misfortune he had brought on all, proceeded from misguided zeal, rather than malice. And, however, he affected to lament that want of judgment to which he imputed the obnoxious proceedings of the earl, and however he condemned his precipitate neglect of instructions, in acting without the advice and concurrence of the marquish^h, yet he contrived to convey secretly to Glamorgan repeated assurances of his confidence and friendship, But the confederates were not informed of these private letters: probably they knew of nothing more than that peremptory disavowal of the earl's treaty, which Charles had found necessary to make to his parliament: an incident at which the more violent affected the utmost consternation, and which discouraged and embarrassed those, who opposed the extravagances of the clergy and their favourite nuncio.

THIS prelate had for some time laboured indefatigably to oppose any accommodationⁱ, but on terms of enormous advantage to the interests of the church. The popish clergy were all at his entire devotion, except some bishops whom age had rendered moderate, and some regulars, who, by their mission, were independent of his authority, With such assistants, he was confident and presumptuous, indifferent to the interests of the king, zealous for those of his own order, and engaged entirely on the fantastical design of establishing the Catholic worship in all its dignity and magnificence. To counteract the schemes of those confederates who wished to make

g Carte, Vol. II. Append. No. xxiii. h Inquiry Harleian. MSS.
i Carte, Vol. I. p. 563.

make peace on such terms as might secure the toleration, without the establishment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty said to be framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew, cardinal Pamfilio. It consisted of extravagant provisions for the church. Rinuccini was empowered to make such additions as he should think proper: his additional articles were still more extravagant; and the whole collection of absurdity and presumption was presented as a treaty already formed and determined at Rome, though not approved by the queen, nor signed by his agent Sir Kenelm Digby. He collected his clergy, and easily prevailed on them to sign a protestation in favour of this treaty. He recommended it to the general assembly, as the only plan on which their rights and interests could be effectually secured: he exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles; in the mean time, to prolong the cessation, and to send their forces for the relief of Chester. He wrought with equal assiduity to gain Glamorgan to his project. This earl, who, from his conversation with the ministers in Dublin, had adopted what were called among his associates the sentiments of moderation, declared loudly for a speedy conclusion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for considering his own separate treaty as a sufficient security for the ecclesiastical interests. His instability, and impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal master, now disposed him to comply with the nunciok. He wrote to the marquis, that “ the effects of his secret endeavours
 “ absolutely vanished, when a more advantageous
 “ peace was offered by the munificent and powerful
 “ hand of her Majesty;” assured him, “ that it was
 “ of

“ of the utmost importance to the king and king-
 “ dom, that no cause of offence should be given to
 “ the pope’s nuncio;” insinuating the necessity of
 treating with him in his own manner, and on his
 own terms. “ But since the high post,” said he,
 “ which you hold, and the difference of religion,
 “ will not permit your excellency to engage openly
 “ in this affair, I believe it would not be at all im-
 “ proper for you to delegate that office to others,
 “ with whom, if your excellency shall join me, who,
 “ though unequal in other respects, am inferiour to
 “ none in friendship and regard for you; I doubt not
 “ that we shall in a few days, and even a few hours,
 “ obtain of the nuncio whatever shall be thought
 “ reasonable and honourable for his Majesty; myself
 “ alone having by the interest and good will of the
 “ nuncio, gained this point, that three thousand
 “ soldiers are designed to be sent to the relief of
 “ Chester; and, to-morrow or next day, he is to
 “ have the chief management of that proposal in the
 “ general assembly.”

THE style of this letter seems to imply a consciousness in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The answer of the marquis of Ormond seems also inconsistent with a real persuasion that the earl was not duly authorised to treat with the confederates. He cautiously declines engaging in any negotiation foreign to the powers he had received; expresses his total ignorance of any grounds for the expectation of advantageous conditions by means of her Majesty. “ My affections and interest,” saith he, “ are so tied to his
 “ Majesty’s cause, that it were madness in me to
 “ disgust any man that hath power and inclination
 “ to

“ to relieve him in the sad condition he is in ; and,
 “ therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the
 “ way you have proposed to yourself to serve the
 “ king, without fear of interruption from me, or so
 “ much as inquiring into the means you work by.”

WHILE the nuncio exerted himself with such vigour in favour of a treaty^m, which probably had no existence but in his own heated imagination ; while he ventured to assure the general assembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby ; the more sensible and moderate of this assembly contended for the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. They urged the condescension of the king in granting all their temporal conditions : that in spirituals, nothing was wanting but the pomp and ostentation of public worship, and an established hierarchy. The circumstances of the king, they observed, could not admit any further concessions : they should rely on his inclinations manifested by the earl of Glamorgan, and otherwise. The pope himself had declared, that a connivance was all that could at present be reasonably demanded for their religion. One ecclesiastic attested the reality of this declaration ; another, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, maintained that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, an imposition on the Irish, purposely devised to ruin the king, and to prevent the peace. Others again, with greater indulgence to this intractable prelate observed, that a conclusion of the civil articles could be of no prejudice to any ecclesiastical peace framed by the pope ; since it was provided, that all things should stand good

good which the king might grant in point of religion, by the intervention of any person whatever.

IN the midst of these delays and altercations, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to another, attempted to moderate the violence of each, professed the warmest attachment to the nuncio; signed an instrument, whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, provided, that if the original articles should arrive by the first day of May, his instrument should be void; and, in the mean time, kept secret, unless the political peace with Ormond should be published before that day. The nuncio yielded to these condescensions of Glamorgan. They signed a convention with some deputies of the general assembly, whereby it was stipulated, that the cessation should continue to the first of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty were not then produced, the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan should agree upon; that the political treaty with the lord lieutenant should proceed, provided that nothing should be concluded or published, no alteration of civil government attempted, nor any thing in prejudice to the present transaction. From the readiness of Glamorgan's concessions, Rinuccini, still suspected his sincerity. He still dreaded, that the earl might unite with Ormond in opposition to a treaty received from the pope. To remove such impressions, the earl, by a voluntary oath, engaged to support the nuncio and his measures against the partizans of Ormond, and all others; he declared his resolution of going to France, to procure transports for such forces as should be provided for the king; he amused the vain prelate with promises of vast military stores, together with a considerable navy,

to be entirely at his devotion and command. The suspicions of the nuncio were thus quieted: he exhorted the general assembly to proceed in their preparations for peace and war; and Glamorgan hastened to Waterford, to attend the embarkation of the troops destined for the relief of Chester, when this city had already surrendered to the parliament.

THE earl was still possessed with apprehensions of the instability of the nuncioⁿ, and the opposition he might still make to the design of sending effectual succours to the king. From Waterford he repeated his zealous assurances of attachment, and his magnificent promises to this prelate. He offered to make use of his powers of conferring titles; and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, so as to enable him to gratify his Irish friends, and strengthen his party^o. At the same time, in a strain of perfect confidence, he assured the unhappy Charles, that ten thousand men should speedily be transported for his service; and that, his Majesty remaining still constant in a favourable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince. The publication of the king's message to parliament, in which Glamorgan's private treaty was disavowed, seemed scarcely to damp the confidence of this lord; however, it surprised and confounded the confederates^p. He represented it as "a forced renunciation:" he declared, that the king had expressly instructed him, that "if by any unfortunate accident he should
" be involved in counsels apparently contrary to the
" powers granted to his lordship, that he should
" consider them only as an additional motive to hasten
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“ten to the succour and rescue of his sovereign:” he spoke with ease and assurance of the military stores, subsidies, and transports he was to procure by his negotiations on the continent, and required only that he might find an army ready on his return.

WHILE the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged his imagination ^q with splendid projects never to be executed, the supreme council of confederates was engaged in the final settlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond. The articles to which he had assented appeared so satisfactory to the general assembly, that even their prelates concurred in accepting and approving them. It had indeed been formerly stipulated with the nuncio, that no peace should be concluded until the first day of May; but the new general assembly, convened on the sixth of March, did not consider themselves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commissioned to conclude the treaty; and, in defiance of the protestation thundered by the nuncio, against their further proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of the same month^r. It was attended with a conditional obligation, whereby the king was disengaged from all his concessions, unless those succours were obtained, which were the great purpose and final object of his negotiations with the Irish. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand foot well armed and provided, by the first day of April, and four thousand more by the first of the ensuing month. In the mean time, the treaty was to be deposited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis,) as an instrument of no force until these troops should be sent away. It was agreed, that the

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peace

peace should be published with all due solemnity on the first of May. But if the troops were not sent at the times appointed, (unless prevented by some unavoidable impediment, or reasonable cause, to be allowed by the marquis of Ormond,) the articles were to be considered as of no effect, and the counterparts to be mutually restored to the respective parties*.

THUS far was a treaty brought to final conclusion, which the pride, the improvidence, and the bigotry of the Irish had protracted, until the king had no appearance of an army left in England, and utterly despaired of any further opposition to his enemies. The Irish succours which he laboured to procure, by a series of disgraceful concessions, could now scarcely be employed to any effectual purpose in England.

* The articles of this treaty are too numerous to be detailed. But their general tenour may be sufficiently collected from the grievances pleaded, and the propositions offered at different times by the Irish. Nothing was stipulated with respect to religion, but that Catholics should be exempted from taking the oath of supremacy, on swearing allegiance according to a new form. With respect to the question of the independency of the parliament of Ireland on that of England, a new concession was made to the confederates. Instead of referring it to both legislatures, as was formerly proposed, it was now "accord-
" ed and agreed, that his Majesty will leave both houses of par-
" liament in *this* kingdom [Ireland] to make such declaration there-
" in, as shall be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland." Vide Cox. Appendix. No. xxiv. p. 97.

BUT of all the articles of this treaty, that which strikes a reader of England with surprize and contempt, is one, which provides, that the old acts of the Irish parliament prohibiting plowing by horse tails, and burning oats in the straw, shall be repealed. This is sometimes ascribed to a ridiculous predilection and adherence to the old barbarous customs of the country. But this matter hath been already explained in the reign of James. The objection to these acts was, that the penalties which they inflicted DID NOT answer the purpose of the legislature, DID NOT tend to reformation, but rather to encourage and perpetuate a barbarism which brought in a regular revenue to the crown.

England^f. Charles was reduced to the melancholy device of applying them to the reduction of Ireland to his obedience, which might at least, afford him a secure retreat, if his other kingdoms could not be recovered. Ormond was not yet authentically informed of the king's extreme distress. He gave the necessary orders for the first embarkation of six thousand men. But the Irish confederates were no strangers to the general state of affairs in England. They considered the great difficulties and dangers of an English expedition, without any certain landing-place to receive, or any cavalry to support their men. Glamorgan, who, in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, had engaged for transports could not provide them at the time appointed. The confederates, therefore, chose to employ their forces against Inchiquin and the parliamentarians of Munster. They represented the necessity of this service to the marquis of Ormond. The clearing of one kingdom, they observed, promised more advantage to the king than a desperate attempt to assist him in England^t. Their great agent, lord Muskerry, expressed a doubt whether the English parliament might not already have extorted some concessions from the king repugnant to those powers of treating with their party, which he had granted to his lord lieutenant. From the distresses of the king, the strength and inveteracy of his enemies, and the weakness of Irish government, he recommended to the marquis, to consult his own security, by accepting the command of the Irish forces; and immediately on publication of the peace, to lead them against the common enemy in Ireland^u. The same overtures were made to him by Glamorgan: and this sanguine lord, as if the junction had

^f Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxixiii. ^t Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxix
^u Orig. Lett. of the M. of Ormond.

had been already formed, required the united assurance of Ormond and the confederates, that ten thousand troops should be ready on his return from the continent, while he engaged on his part, for vast supplies of shipping, arms, ammunition, and artillery. The marquis answered generally, and cautiously, without a formal acceptance, or an absolute rejection of this overture. “As I may at no hand,” said he to lord Muskerry, “decline your undertaking to serve his Majesty in England^w, so neither shall I refuse your offer towards it in this kingdom; but as occasion shall be offered and I enabled, will chearfully endeavour to preserve his interest here, and the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all those that shall therein join with me.” To Glamorgan he promised, by himself, and without any concert with the Irish, to use his utmost endeavours for raising the ten thousand troops, and that the whole remainder of his fortune should stand engaged for this purpose*.

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w Carte, Vol. II. ut sup.

* His letter to Glamorgan on this occasion affords an additional proof to those already published, that the commitment of this earl was really nothing more than what the king's enemies called it, A COLOURABLE COMMITMENT: that Ormond, far from conceiving his commission to be forged or surreptitiously obtained, still continued to regard him as really entrusted by the king, and empowered to negotiate in his name; as a person with whom it was his duty to co-operate, so far as was consistent with his principles, his honour, and safety; and whom he was, at least, bound not to oppose in his endeavours, for the service of his Majesty. The letter is here, therefore, inserted at large, from the original, in possession of the author.

MY LORD,

“I RECEIVE your gratulation and advices for my future security, as evident testimonys of your continued favour to mee, and am much much joyed to finde that the accidents fallen out concerning your lordship have not left any impression in you to the prejudice of the real affection you give me leave to beare you.

“MY Lord, I had, according to my promise, given you a larger
“account

THE depredations of Sir Charles Coote and his parliamentary forces in Connaught became so violent and alarming^x, that the confederates grew more urgent with the marquis to declare against them. Clanricarde had been injured by their outrages, and insisted, that the chief governour should proclaim them traitors. The confederates represented the necessity of

^x Carte, VI. III. No. ccccxlvi.

“ account of things here, but that at the concludeing of the articles
 “ wee found ourselves so streightned in time, that many material
 “ partes of the agreement were faine to be put in an other way then
 “ was first thought of, and at this instant I am soe pressed with im-
 “ portant dispatches from Kilkenny, that I shall bee able but shortly
 “ and confusedly to give you a returne to the maine parte of your
 “ lordship’s of the third of this month, which came to my hands yef-
 “ day about noone.

“ TOUCHING the noble and large offer you are pleased to make of
 “ shiping, armes, ammunition, and a traine of artillery for the king’s
 “ service in case you may receive assurance from those in power among
 “ the confederates and from mee, that ten thousand men shall be re-
 “ dy against your returne to be transported to serve the king in Eng-
 “ land, I returne your lordship this answer, That *I shall and by this*
 “ *leter doe cheerfully oblige my selfe for as much as shall be in my power,*
 “ *ether in my publick or private capacity, to have that number of men in*
 “ *the readines you expect; and to compose it, am contented all the remain-*
 “ *der of my fortune should stand engaged.* If your lordship can procure
 “ as much as this from the other party, I conceive you will pro-
 “ ceede in your intended voyage with satisfaction, and returne I hope,
 “ with successe, which is earnestly wished by

“ Your lordship’s

“ most faithful

“ Dub. Cast. the 6th

“ and affectionate kinsman

“ of Aprill, 1646.

“ and humble servant

ORMOND.”

“ To the Right Honourable My
 “ very good Lord the Earle of Glamorgan,
 “ at Waterford.”

THUS we find that Glamorgan perfectly understood the nature and reason of his commitment; that he was not offended at the marquis; and that the marquis insinuates plainly enough, that he ought not to be offended. The earl, indeed, expressed some resentment against lord Digby. But lord Digby was his rival. He was at this time negotiating with the supreme council; and prevailed on them to furnish him with three hundred men to serve as a guard for the prince of Wales.

of a present union of all the royalists. They required that Ormond should admit, that the obstructions to the embarkation of their forces were sufficient to justify them from any violation of articles: they told him, that any immediate publication of his treaty, must necessarily be attended with a like publication of Glamorgan's secret articles, to prevent any rupture among themselves, or any disgust to their foreign friends. If this should not be acceptable to the lieutenant, they required that he should immediately unite his forces with theirs, and proceed with vigour against the common enemy.

ORMOND

now retired to the isle of Scilly, and whom Digby projected to convey into Ireland; a scheme which Ormond highly approved, and which was very acceptable to those of the confederates, who wished to restrain the turbulence and ambition of the nuncio. Digby grew a favourite with the confederates. Glamorgan was jealous of his entirely supplanting him, and gaining the command of their forces; so as to deprive him of the favourite object of his vanity, the honour of leading an army to the rescue of his royal master. [See Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxxvii.] Digby, however, thought it necessary, and contrived to allay his jealousies. "Here at Waterford," saith he to Ormond, [No. ccccxli.] "I have met with my lord of Glamorgan, whom I find (and he hath reason) a very sad man, and withall highly incensed by some about him against me. But for this latter part, I believe his good nature and THE REASONS WHICH I HAVE GIVEN HIM, have well settled him in a good measure of kindness, which my lord of Muskerry, and the rest, did think very necessary to the carrying on of business unanimously."

At the same time, that Ormond engaged with so much zeal to second the efforts of Glamorgan, at the hazard of his whole fortune, it is certain that both he and Digby thought but meanly of the earl, and the vanity and extravagance of his promises. But notwithstanding all his foibles, and notwithstanding all their affected severity against his treaty, it is evident they regarded him as duly authorised by the king; and treated and addressed him as a person still enjoying the royal favour and confidence. And that he did still enjoy them in a very high degree, there is direct and positive proof in those letters extant among the Harleian Manuscripts, in which Charles assures him of the continuance of his friendship, and promises to MAKE GOOD ALL HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND PROMISES TO HIM AND THE NUNCIO.

ORMOND had just now received intelligence that the king had resigned himself to the Scottish army^z, an incident of such consequence as might require some change in his counsels and measures. He deliberated, and at length determined to return a spirited answer to the confederates. The necessity of union, he observed, was too apparent, but refused to unite with those who derived not their authority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the assistance of any of the king's subjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit: He could not admit, that they had been guilty of no failure in their stipulations; for, however it might have been impracticable to send their forces into England, yet the sums which they engaged to supply for the service of government, were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been disavowed by the king; he, therefore, could not admit the publication of them. He required, that they should consent explicitly to suppress them; and that the treaty of Dublin should be instantly published. If these overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the condition of his Majesty's affairs in Dublin must soon force him to seek some other way of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland.

THE confederates were alarmed; they apprehended, that Ormond might join with the parliamentarians; they suspected that overtures had been already made, and favourable conditions already offered to him. They grew humble and complying; they apologized for their failures, and promised to fulfil all their engagements; they consented to omit the publication of Glamorgan's treaty; the articles

concluded with Ormond were immediately to be published by mutual consent; when a letter from the king forbad all farther proceedings, and inhibited the lieutenant from engaging him with the Irish on any conditions^a. Ormond might have been persuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not easy to persuade others. On each side all was suspense and confusion. The lieutenant and council, in their answer to the king, enumerated the distresses of Irish government; pleaded the absolute necessity of at least renewing the cessation^b, though the royal orders seemed to forbid it; and urged the impossibility of commencing war without large supplies of money and military stores. The confederates declared, that they could not proceed any farther in their negociation, in the present uncertainty of the king's circumstances and condition. In this juncture lord Digby arrived opportunely from the continent. He declared, that the king was held in captivity by the Scots, and could not send any instructions to his servants but such as they extorted from him. That of this his severe restraint, he had found means to send private notice to Paris, directing that the queen, the prince, and all his ministers, should pursue the orders he had given, while free; that in all points, he had not then determined, the prince should give such orders as he judged most advantageous to the crown; that particularly, in the affairs of Ireland, the lord lieutenant should proceed agreeably to his former instructions, without regard to any orders surreptitiously or forcibly obtained; that the queen and prince of Wales should assure him of his Majesty's firm adherence to the measures he had formerly directed; and that as the great seal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies

^a Carte, Vol. III. No. cccliii.

^b No. ccclxi.

enemies, no attention was to be paid to it in Ireland, unless the king should signify under his own hand, in cypher, that it had been used agreeably to his free choice and inclination.

A LETTER from the prince of Wales assured the marquis of his concurrence and support in the prosecution of the Irish treaty^c. Lord Digby attended the privy council at Dublin. He declared, that the king's letter forbidding all farther negociations with the confederates was surreptitiously or forcibly obtained, contrary to what he knew to be his Majesty's free resolution. He offered to answer with his life for this present declaration of the king's will and pleasure^d. It was signed with his name, and entered in the council books. Ormond, in the same manner^e, registered his protestation, that he was fully satisfied of his authority to conclude a peace upon the articles deposited with the marquis of Clanricarde. No reluctance now appeared on the part of the confederates. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the instruments were delivered by both parties respectively. The council issued a proclamation, ratifying the articles of peace; and all persons were enjoined to receive it with due observance and submission.

FROM such an event, it seems natural to expect some public settlement and composure, an aspect of affairs more serene and pleasing, than had for some years appeared in Ireland. But the peace of forty-six, as it was called, had been the work of a distressed government, so utterly disclaimed by the prevailing power in England, that lord Lisle was already appointed chief governour of Ireland by the parliament. The great body of covenanters in Ulster despis-

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ed the whole negociation ; the parliamentarians of Munster opposed any peace with the Irish. These reformers, in the fullness of their zeal, could be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Irish race. A numerous and powerful party of the catholics, with the same absurd violence, aimed at the utter extirpation of Englishmen and their religion. Through the whole progress of the treaty, Rinuccini was indefatigable in his opposition to any peace, but one framed by the pope ; to any civil treaty separate from the ecclesiastical ; to any ecclesiastical which should not fully gratify his extravagant expectations of an immediate, a complete, and splendid establishment of the Romish worship.

So miserable a politician was this bustling prelate, that whatever attention to the king's interests^f he publicly expressed yet in a letter to cardinal Pamfilio he declared his opinion, that the destruction of the king would prove of most advantage to the Irish ; and the final triumph of the parliamentarians in England, most effectual to the establishment of popery in Ireland. Possessed with this strange idea, he secretly rejoiced in every misfortune of the royal party, and strenuously contended against every measure which might support the king's tottering cause. He harangued, he remonstrated, he protested against the treaty with Ormond ; he preached the necessity of union among the confederates, without any attention to the king's ministers, or any thought of peace. He exhorted them to look abroad for support, to seek the protection of some foreign power ; and pointed out the pope as their natural and assured protector. But as a great and powerful party of the confederates were

were still earnest for a final accommodation, and were supported by general Preston and his troops, the nuncio was sensible, that neither his own industry, nor the practices and clamours of his clergy would prevent the peace, without some power to support them against an army ready to execute the orders of the supreme council.

OWEN O'NIAL, and his Ulster forces, seemed a fit instrument of the nuncio's purposes. Both the leader and his followers were disgusted at the supreme council. No provision had been made in the articles of the civil treaty for those who pretended to be aggrieved by the plantation of Ulster, and both Owen and all his officers had their grievances to plead. Their forces were chiefly composed of what were called in Ireland, CREAGHTS, a race of barbarous rovers, without any settled residence, wandering with their cattle in search of subsistence, to the great annoyance of the districts which they visited. Their depredations in Leinster had proved so oppressive, that the council of Kilkenny issued orders for opposing them by arms, and thus provoked their resentment. The nuncio addressed himself to their commander; he assured him, that the supplies he had brought or expected, should be all applied to the support of his army; he gave him some money as an earnest of his future bounty; he easily prevailed on a bold adventurer to declare against the peace; and the Ulster Irish, who derived no advantage but from public commotion, were with equal ease induced to call themselves the nuncio's soldiers. They were collected with such diligence, that about the end of May, Owen had assembled near five thousand foot and five hundred horse,

horse, and at the head of this body advanced towards Armagh.

THE Scottish general, Monroe, was alarmed at motions; and naturally apprehended some attempts against the British garrisons of Ulster. He drew out six thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and, by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprize O Nial in his quarters. Here he learned, that the Irish army lay seven miles further, at a place called Benburb, strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed. On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected: when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle; but, instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day, and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe, had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained their ground, till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and pro-

produced a general rout. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with the loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Scots' artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was suddenly called by the nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace, and instantly marched at the head of ten thousand barbarous ravagers, for to this number had his army swelled by the victory of Benburb.

THE prospect of a support so powerful^h, inspired all the adherents of the nuncio with the utmost confidence; and the effects appeared in the reception given to the proclamation of peace in several parts of Ireland. It had been immediately proclaimed at Dublin, and in the camp of general Preston, and officers were sent to proclaim it in several cities of the Irish quarters. At Waterford and Clonmel they were, on frivolous pretences, prevented from doing their office. At Limerick the chief magistrate attended the proclamation, but was suddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd led on by some clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, some of them mortally, imprisoned them for ten days; and received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio for this outrage. By his own authority, he displaced those magistrates who had attempted to support the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on a man who had been leader and conductor of the tumult. He convened

vened his clergy at Waterford; they pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of violating their oath of association; they excommunicated the commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict on all places where the peace had been admitted; suspended all the clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace. Excommunication was denounced against those who paid or levied any money assessed by the council of Kilkenny, and all soldiers who should support the execution of their orders. For the better union of their party, a new oath of association was framed, whereby they engaged not to adhere to any peace, but such as should be honourable, secure to their consciences, and so approved by the congregation of Irish clergy*.

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* THESE violent measures, it seems, were contrary to the instructions which the nuncio had received from Rome, and made it necessary for him to send an apology to the pope. Mr. Carte hath given us from the nuncio's Memoirs another instance in which he was accused of deviating from the intentions of the holy see, too curious to be passed unnoticed. In a speech to the council of Kilkenny, he had recommended fidelity first to God and religion, and next to the king. A copy of this speech he sent to Rome; and, in return, was severely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; "for that THE HOLY SEE NEVER WOULD BY ANY POSITIVE ACT APPROVE THE CIVIL ALLEGIANCE WHICH CATHOLIC SUBJECTS PAY TO AN HERETICAL PRINCE: and the displeasure of the court of Rome was greater as he had deposited a copy of his speech with the council; which, if published, would furnish heretics with arguments, against the papal authority over heretical princes; when the pope's own minister should exhort Catholics to be faithful to such a king." The nuncio was directed to recal the copies of this speech. He got the original from the secretary of the council, and returned him another, in which the offensive paragraph was altered.

YET, in the fury of his zeal against the peace, he was betrayed into the same offence. He was the first to sign a protestation of the clergy, in which they declared warmly for religion, and for the king.

Pamfilio.

THE censures thundered out by the nuncio and clergy had their full effect upon an ignorant and bigoted people, and every where produced the most violent exclamations against a peace, in which the interests of religion were not amply and explicitly secured. The supreme council prepared an appeal against these censures; but it was neither exhibited in form, nor published. Instead of rigorously enforcing their authority, they endeavoured to soothe the clergy; they received their extravagant propositions without disdain or reprehension, and thus confirmed them in the opinion of their own power. Owen O'Nial, they knew, was devoted to the nuncio, and provoked at the neglect of his merits which they had betrayed in their nomination of generals, to be commissioned by the lord lieutenant on the peace. Preston, from whom alone they could expect any opposition to O'Nial, had already discovered some ambiguity of conduct; and part of his army had been disbanded for want of pay, part had

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Pamfilio again reproved him: he reminded him, that "it had been the uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome NEVER TO ALLOW HER MINISTERS TO MAKE OR CONSENT TO PUBLIC EDICTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE CROWN AND PERSON OF AN HERETICAL PRINCE." He condemned his procedure, as furnishing a pretence to the adversaries of the see to reflect upon her, as deviating from her established maxims and rules of conduct. "But as the pope," said he, "knows very well how difficult it is in such assemblies to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by Catholics to the king; he will, therefore, be satisfied if his minister doth not shew by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which, for political considerations the Catholics were either forced or willing to make."—Rinunccini, in his apology, declared, "that all the Irish bishops had, without scruple, taken the oath which contained this exceptionable clause of allegiance to the king; and that it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently be suspected of having other views, besides those of a mere nunciature; which, without any such handle, had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

deserted to the clergy. In these circumstances, the council looked to the marquis of Ormond for support. They earnestly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to assist them to maintain the peace against the violence of the nuncio, and to concert measures for checking the progress of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the southern province, regardless of the orders of government, and in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

HOWEVER desperate and deplorable the present situation of the king appeared, however impracticable the transportation of Irish forces, and however ineffectual, yet a peace was absolutely necessary to support even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governour without forces, without money or provisions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and by the Catholics of these, and the remaining province, could subsist scarcely for a day. The kingdom must unavoidably be reduced by the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of some foreign power. His commission for concluding a peace with the confederates was determined by the peace already concluded: if this should not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digbyⁱ, he repaired to Kilkenny, and was received with such respect, and such abundant joy, as seemed to indicate a general disposition in the people to be again admitted into the king's protection. But this gay prospect was soon clouded by disappointment and sus-

suspicion. Preston, on pretence of indisposition, refused to attend the lord lieutenant. An emissary he had dispatched to practise with Owen O'Nial, could not by the most magnificent offers detach him from the nuncio^k. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to dissuade them from their violent measures, and reconcile them to the peace. But he found them obstinate and inexorable; and was justly scandalized at the virulence of Rinunccini, who declared his firm purpose of opposing the peace to the utmost, and uttered "other expressions," saith the earl, "relative to blood not becoming a churchman." To compose the tempers of the people, Ormond attempted some excursions into Munster; he prepared to march to Cathel; when one of his own kinsmen appeared in arms to oppose him; and the magistrate of this town assured him, that the utmost vengeance was denounced against the inhabitants, should they presume to give him admittance, and that O'Nial was on his march to execute these threats. From the privy council at Dublin he received alarming intelligence of the motions and designs of this general. So confident were they that O'Nial intended either to intercept the lieutenant, or in his absence to lay siege to the capital, that preparations were made for the defence of Dublin.

WITH whatever reluctance Ormond received these rumours, and whatever was his anxiety for effectuating the peace, he soon received the clearest and most authentic information of his present danger. Immediately on his departure for Kilkenny, the nuncio^l, who had attached O'Nial to his party by large sums of money, urged him either to under-

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take the siege of Dublin, or to intercept the lieutenant on his return. He chose this latter enterprize as the less hazardous. Preston, at length, yielded to the instances of Rinuccini, and was engaged in the same design. Ormond was assured, that both these generals were actually on their march to cut off his retreat. There was now no time for expostulation or reproach. By forced marches, with some difficulty, and several alarms, he regained the capital, where he was received with the joy natural to people who had for some days been persuaded that he and his whole party were cut off.

THE triumph of the nuncio now seemed complete. The way was open for his return to Kilkenny. Owen O'Nial lay with his whole army in the neighbourhood of this city, ready to execute his orders. Preston professed to be devoted to his service. Soldiers and officers, gentry and commonalty, crowded to this vain prelate, breathing vengeance against the O R M O N D I S T S, (so the favourers of peace were called) and clamouring for religion, for the clergy, and the papal minister. In a moment, all that power which the confederate catholics had so long supported, the authority of their assemblies, the dignity of their councils, were utterly dissolved and lost. A few ecclesiastics seemed absolute lords of the kingdom. The nuncio made his public entry into Kilkenny with all the pomp of royalty and victory; and all affairs civil and ecclesiastical were resigned to his direction. Intoxicated with power and flattery, he ordered the members of the supreme council, and other promoters of the peace, to be imprisoned; and general Preston executed his order. By a solemn decree issued in his own name, and by his own authority, he appointed a new council,

cil, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen. In this assembly he himself acted as president; modelled his armies, appointed his officers, and in the fulness of authority, determined and commanded at his pleasure.

OF all the infatuated people, who resigned their understandings and their interests to this prelate, the earl of Glamorgan was most obsequious^m. He had lately received a private letter, from the king, in which Charles expressed his affection and attachment to the earl, and solemnly assured him, that it was his purpose, if possible, to effect an escape, and cast himself into the arms of him and the nuncio. This letter was communicated to Rinunccini; and he, and his favourite, amused themselves with idle projects for conveying the king into Ireland. To a nobleman of such consequence with his sovereign, and, at the same time, so devoted to the holy see, the nuncio deigned to shew extraordinary marks of favourⁿ. He created him general of Munster, in the room of lord Muskerry, who was disgraced and imprisoned: and, though the levity, the vanity, and instability of this earl were now generally understood, yet were they all redeemed by his abject submission to the pope and his minister. Rinunccini promised to appoint him lord lieutenant, when Ormond should be driven from Dublin. He recommended him to Pamfilio as the person fittest for this office. Glamorgan was transported by such favours: by a new engagement, he vowed eternal obedience to the nuncio; swore, that in all his conduct, he would be guided by his direction, and submit to his decision; that he would, at any time, resign the lieutenancy at his command; and, in all things,

^m Birch, Inquiry, p. 244.

ⁿ Carte, Orm. Vol. I, p. 584.

things, pay obedience to the holy see. And so confident was the ambitious prelate of immediately becoming master of Dublin, and establishing his creature in the government, that he wrote to Rome for directions about adjusting the ceremonial between the papal minister and the new chief governor.

ORMOND, in the mean time, expected and prepared against a siege. The inhabitants, who had neglected the fortifications of Dublin, were roused by the apprehensions of immediate danger, and proceeded vigourously to repair them. The old Irish of the North, (and these were the besiegers now expected) had rendered themselves generally odious by their barbarities, and were objects of particular horror to the English inhabitants of Dublin. To animate their zeal against these murderers of their countrymen, the marchioness of Ormond, and other women of quality appeared at their head, carrying baskets of earth to the fortifications. But, amidst all these preparations against a siege, the lieutenant was pierced with a deep sense of his present desperate situation. He was utterly unprovided for the sustenance of an army; he could not support the out-garrisons, nor draw them into Dublin to increase the general distress. The moment that the enemy should take possession of the adjacent country, the excise, and all his wretched temporary resources must utterly fail. He had mortgaged his estate for twenty-three thousand pounds, expended in the public service. Two thousand more, received from his tenants at Kilkenny, were quickly exhausted in purchasing the subsistence of a few days. He could not maintain a siege; he could not treat with the Irish; he could not rely on their adhering to any treaty. The whole power of the confederate catho-
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lics had now devolved on the OLD IRISH, the most desperate and barbarous, the most averse to all of English race, who in their pride had threatened them with extirpation, had breathed disdain and defiance of English government, and were now labouring to reduce the nation under a foreign power. To such men he could not submit. The parliamentarians he detested. Yet to this detested party he was reduced to apply; and, in order to preserve the appearance of an English government in Ireland, at length, reluctantly addressed him for relief to the parliament at London.

HE required an immediate reinforcement of three thousand foot and five hundred horse^o, three months pay for his army thus augmented, security for the persons and estates of his adherents, of those who had for some time after the rebellion been forced to continue in the Irish quarters, of all unoffending catholics, and of such rebels as by the lieutenant and council, with consent of the English parliament, should be admitted as adherents to the king's protestant subjects. On these conditions he engaged to carry on the war, as he should be enabled and directed by parliament. It was, however, intimated by his agents, that rather than the supplies should be obstructed, the lieutenant and council would, with the king's permission, resign their patents, provided that their persons and estates were secured, and that they were indemnified from their public engagements. And this latter overture only was accepted. Commissioners were named to treat with Ormond for the surrender of his government and garrisons: and, in the mean time, two thousand foot and three hundred

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hundred horse, were ordered for the immediate relief
of Dublin.

THE nuncio, in full confidence of success, now concerted his enterprize against the capital. His reliance was on Owen O'Nial; and his favour confined to this general and his army. The assistance of Preston was rather accepted than desired; and the nuncio manifested his suspicions, by requiring him to take an oath that he would proceed faithfully and vigourously in the siege of Dublin. Preston naturally cholerick, could but resent this partiality. The forces of O'Nial were violent and indiscriminate in their ravages. The gentry of Leinster were provoked, and flocked in great numbers to Preston for defence against the barbarous Northerners. Thus, by the indiscretion of the nuncio, and the outrages of his favourite troops, his two generals became rivals, and their forces were ready to draw the sword against each other. Lord Digby was on the point of going to France, either to procure supplies for war, or to prevail upon that court to interpose with the Irish and incline them to peace, when he learned the secret discontents of Preston; and hence formed a project to detach him from the nuncio. A private treaty was commenced. Preston demanded security for religion; and, on this condition, promised to unite with Ormond. Some assurances were offered by Digby with respect to religion, from the queen and prince. Preston demanded the additional security of the marquis of Clanricarde, to whose direction he seemed willing to submit. Both these noblemen were solicitous to prevent any accommodation between Ormond and the English parliament. Digby, more sanguine in his expectations, not only

only possessed himself with a firm persuasion that Preston would be easily gained^p, but was amused with the hopes of making the nuncio his prisoner, by surprize. But this scheme proved ineffectual; and Ormond, who despised and suspected the faith and stability of Preston, could not be persuaded to take his part in the treaty with this general, who now advanced towards Dublin, in conjunction with O'Nial, at the head of sixteen thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse.

To proceed with the appearance of form and deliberation, their propositions were sent to the marquis of Ormond, to which his immediate answer was required^q. They demanded that the exercise of the Romish religion should be as free and public in all the English garrisons, as in Paris or Brussels^r; and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and other places in the English quarters^s, should be garrisoned by catholics. Ormond, in the midst of his distresses, disdained an answer to these insolent propositions. Thirty barrels of powder received from a parliament ship was the only provision for defence he had been enabled to make. He applied to the agents of the English parliament, now residing in Ulster; they refused to procure him any succours, unless he should deliver Drogheda into thier hands. He addressed himself to the Scots of this province: they seemed inclined to the King's service; but by their detachments to Scotland, and their defeat at Benburb, were too much weakened to send the succours he required. In this extremity, he attempted to transport his wife and children to the Isle of Man: he had the mortification to be

Vol. III. Y y denied

^p Carte, Vol. III. No. cccxcii. ^q Vol. I. pag. 581. ^r Cox
Vol. II. pag. 173. ^s Borlase.

denied the use of a ship, unless to convey them to some place under the parliament's obedience; and, rather than accept this offer, he determined that they should share his danger. Some faint hopes he formed from the approach of winter, and the severity of the season, which might render it impracticable for the enemy to lye long encamped before the city. To make their situation still more distressful, he demolished the mills and bridges, destroyed the corn within several miles of Dublin, and thus waited the approach of the confederates.

THEY approached, and took their stations near the city with an appearance highly formidable. But the animosities of the Leinster and Ulster generals still subsisted: nor were their forces sufficiently provided against the inclemency of the season, and the poverty of the country. Whatever plan of operations was suggested by either, his rival eagerly opposed. O'Nial was dark and sarcastical, cautious of discovering his sentiments, jealous, captious, and severe. Preston, irritable, open, and unrestrained, expressed his resentment with an indiscreet and indecent violence. The nuncio was alarmed at the conflict of such tempers, and was difficultly dissuaded from committing Preston to custody. O'Nial affected to dread some insidious design against him and his forces. The officers of each party adopted the jealousies and resentments of their leader. Those of Leinster expressed contempt and abhorrence of the barbarous Northerners: in return, they were insulted by those of Ulster with the opprobrious appellation of Englishmen, and threatened with destruction, when Ireland should revert to its original and only rightful possessors. Thus were the two armies ready

dy to draw the sword against each other, instead of carrying on the siege with due concert and alacrity.

LORD Digby was still solicitous to take advantage of these animosities, to reconcile the whole body of the Irish to peace, on what he deemed reasonable terms; or, at least, to detach Preston from their confederacy, and by uniting him with Ormond, to prevent the hateful treaty with the English parliament. The marquis of Clanricarde, at his instances, repaired to the confederates. He was received with the respect due to a catholic lord of such distinguished character, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He undertook for the repeal of all laws against Catholics; that they should retain possession of the churches until the king's pleasure should be signified, upon a full settlement of the nation; that the queen and prince should confirm these articles, and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio, in the extravagance of his bigotted expectations, objected to these overtures as still insufficient. They were warmly supported by the moderate and sensible part of the confederates. In the midst of their debates, intelligence arrived, that the forces of the English parliament were landed in Dublin. They started from council; O'Nial called off his men from their posts, and decamped in the night; the supreme council hastened to Kilkenny, and were followed by the nuncio; while Preston and his officers continued the negociation with Clanricarde, promising, on security for the conditions he proposed, to observe the late peace, to be obedient to the King's authority, and to unite with Ormond against all his enemies.

THE marquis, thus extricated from his immediate danger, was more at leisure to treat with the commissioners sent by the English parliament. They saw the wretched state of Dublin, and imagined that Ormond must purchase their supplies on the severest terms. The protestant inhabitants regarded them as their deliverers; they urgently petitioned that their forces should be admitted into the city; and Ormond found it necessary to comply so far with their demands, that he permitted the soldiers to debark, and take their quarters peaceably in the suburbs. From the transactions of Clanricarde some hopes still remained of an accomodation with the Irish. He, therefore, treated with the commissioners not as a man totally desperate, but with the dignity suited to his character and station. They proposed to take the protestants of Ireland under the protection of parliament, and to allow the marquis his estate, or an annual pension of two thousand pounds, for five years, if he should not receive so much from his rents. On these conditions they demanded that he should resign his government. He objected to the lax and uncertain manner in which their overtures were expressed. He observed, that they had brought no answers to those propositions which he had transmitted to London: that they offered no security to any protestants but on condition of their obedience to all the ordinances of parliament; that they could not particularly inform him what these ordinances were, nor assure him that those which enjoined the covenant were not included in this number; that they offered no security to those papists who were untainted by rebellion; no assurance of being continued in the public service, to any officers

ficers civil or military ; that they brought no specific orders from the King which might justify his resignation of the government. In such circumstances, he declared, that he must still retain the charge entrusted him : but that the kingdom might not be deprived of their succours, he proposed, that their soldiers should be distributed into garrisons, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, and their instructions from the parliament enlarged ; and that they should supply him with three thousand pounds for the service of the army. These propositions were rejected ; the forces were re-embarked and conveyed to Ulster ; where the Scots, with difficulty, consented to receive them.

DURING this negotiation, Ormond found himself insensibly involved in another transaction, scarcely reconcilable to his principles of religion^a, of honour, or of policy. The marquis of Clanricarde, in his treaty with general Preston, had promised the security of the queen and prince for the advantages stipulated in favour of religion. To render this effectual, it was necessary that Ormond should promise to obey all orders in favour of the catholics received from the queen or prince, or such as should be certified by lord Digby, secretary to the king, to be his Majesty's free and real pleasure. But he who had received such proofs of the king's indulgence to the Irish catholics, he who knew the principles and the counsellors of the queen, could not but apprehend, that such a promise might bind him to the most dangerous and extravagant concessions, such as he had hitherto rejected with disdain. Digby required him to declare, that his Majesty's gracious intentions to secure the catholics in the free exercise
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^a Carte, Vol. III. No. DIV--DXXII.

of religion, were purposely omitted in the last articles of peace, by the subtlety of some of the Romish party, in order to enflame the people against a treaty so essentially defective. Such a declaration, he well knew, was inconsistent with truth. He was to promise that no advantage should be taken of the omission, but that the penal laws should be repealed, and the churches left in possession of the catholics until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. This were to adopt the religious articles granted by Glamorgan. He was not only to employ Preston and his officers, and to grant them commissions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the chief command of the catholic forces, but to admit these forces into the king's garrisons; and, particularly, to receive some of Preston's regiments into Dublin. This was dangerous, and justly and highly offensive to the protestant party.

WHILE in treaty with the commissioners of parliament, Ormond took no notice of the engagements of Clanricarde, returned no answer to the solicitations of Digby. On the departure of these commissioners, he stated his objections to the particulars required from him. Clanricarde had precipitately engaged for his compliance in these particulars. Digby exerted all his ingenuity to reconcile them to his judgment and principles. Both lords expressed the utmost confidence in the sincerity of Preston, and his dispositions to the king's service. Both entertained the most sanguine hopes from reconciling him to government. Ormond, wearied by importunity, at length, consented to write to Preston, a man whom he suspected and despised. He, first, assured him in general terms, that he and his officers, on submission
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to the peace, should receive all due encouragement. He was again persuaded to promise him, that in full reliance on his fidelity, he and his army should be employed both in the field and in the king's garrisons. In another ostensible letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, he declared his resolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of Irish catholics, or during his restraint, all the commands of the queen and prince, or the significations of his Majesty's pleasure, by his secretary, lord Digby*.

THE negotiation of Clanricarde now seemed happily concluded; a negotiation which promised to relieve the lieutenant from the odious necessity of submitting to the English parliament, and to enable him to prosecute all impugnors of the peace with vigour and success^u. Clanricarde received his commission to command the Leinster army. Preston consented to become his major-general, consulted with Ormond on the operations of war; engaged to make an attempt for securing Waterford and Kilkenny, and was speedily to be joined by the lord lieutenant and his

* Ormond seems to have felt considerable Pain at thus departing from his usual dignity and firmness of conduct. So sensible was he of the impropriety and danger of this declaration, that he, in effect, retracted it. In a letter to lord Digby, on his supposed departure to France, the marquis expresses himself thus.—“ One thing I shall beseech you to be careful of, which is, to take order that the commands that shall be directed to me, touching this people (if any be) thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion; for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject, to OBEY by SUFFERING. And this, I mention, lest the king's service should suffer by my scrupulousness in things another would find less difficulty in. No man knows better than your lordship where in this particular I stick; yet I hold it not amiss to remember you, that it is in what concerns any concession that may seem to perpetuate to the Roman catholics either churches, or church-livings, or that may essentially take from ours, or give to their clergy ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”—CARTE, Vol. III. No. DXXV.

his farces. He began his march; when suddenly some agents appeared from the nuncio, who commanded him to stop; to disperse his forces; and, in case of disobedience, denounced the sentence of excommunication on him and all his followers. The contemptible bigot was terrified; and easily wrought to a full reconciliation with the nuncio and his party. Ormond was on his march to join the Leinster army, when Clanricarde, who attended him, to his utter confusion and mortification, received a letter from Preston, informing him, that his officers had all been driven from their resolutions, by the terrours of excommunication, and therefore advising, that the lieutenant should proceed no farther, but wait the issue of a general assembly at Kilikenny. In three days after this mean apology, he published a formal renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde, on pretence that articles were not performed on the part of government.

ORMOND was not surpris'd at this perfidy; nor did he form any hopes from the new general assembly. Yet to deprive the Irish of all excuse, he resolv'd to struggle with his difficulties a little longer, and to expect the result of this meeting. While the necessities of Dublin oblig'd him to march into West Meath, to seek subsistence for his troops, this assembly was conven'd. The most extravagant propositions were presented by the nuncio and his clergy. They demanded the full establishment of popery, the full possession of all churches and benefices throughout the kingdom, the repeal of the common law so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power, liberty to erect popish universities, to appoint provisions to all church-dignities, and to exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full extent;

tent; and they required a new oath for continuing the association until these points should be effectually obtained. The substance of these propositions was readily accepted. By a formal resolution, they condemned the late peace. The nuncio contended for censuring those commissioners who had transacted it. But in opposing this violence, the assembly was betrayed into a ridiculous inconsistency. They voted, that the commissioners had acted honestly in making, and the clergy also in violating the peace. In contradiction to the sense of the French court, signified by its minister, in contempt of a spirited remonstrance from the marquis of Ormond, they pronounced it null and void.

HERE was a full period to all hopes from the Irish. Ormond, surrounded by a party exasperated at the repeated perfidy of this odious race, provoked at the distresses to which they had been reduced in the royal service, and unable any longer to supply the demands of a famished army, found himself, after a long series of toilsome efforts for the interests of his sovereign, deceived, destitute, and abandoned. He could no longer support the king's cause, or protect his protestant subjects; he therefore, determined, as his last desperate resource, to deposite the rights of the crown with the English parliament. Those who still adhered to Irish government, however zealously affected to the king, however averse to the proceedings of his opponents, yet could not deny the necessity of this resolution^a. The privy council concurred in it; it was approved by a parliament held in Dublin. The king was now delivered up to the commissioners appointed by the two houses to receive him from the Scots; and Ormond

was assured, his majesty had signified his pleasure, that in a case of extreme necessity, he should submit rather to the English than the Irish^b. The King's private letters afforded Ormond abundant reason to doubt the truth of these assurances, yet they served to justify the resolution he had now formed to the public. He wrote to the parliament commissioners, offering to resign his government and garrisons on their own conditions.

THE confederates, who had ever professed loyalty to the king^c, were not entirely insensible to the odium of forcing his lieutenant into a submission to his enemies; and at least, thought it necessary to affect a solicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accomodation. But as the nuncio still influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were insolent and extravagant. They served, however, to give the marquis some respite, and suspension of hostilities, until his treaty with the parliament should be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, sent him some supplies, and consulted him on his operations against the Irish in Munster. This lord was at the head of five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and was reinforced from England. He took several places from the Irish, and threatened Waterford with a siege. Preston was recalled from his petty expeditions in Lienster, to oppose the progress of lord Inchiquin; for O'Nial would obey no orders, not even of the nuncio, though his rapacious followers called themselves the pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught; he was in possession of some counties of Lienster, and in all the Irish quarters through the northern

northern province absolute commander. His affection of independency, his subtle, dark, and enterprising temper, the insolence of his followers, who could not conceal the pride and prejudices of their ancient descent, and claimed the whole island as the property of the old Irish, filled the confederates with fears and discontents. Those of Lienster, and all the catholics of English race, dreaded extirpation from these savages. So that the body of Irish insurgents, who had given such consequence, and such dignity to their original conspiracy; who had extorted the most abject concessions from the king, and prescribed law to his lieutenant, was now on the point of breaking into virulent factions, and declaring desperate war against each other.

YET still were they apparently so powerful, and so infatuated by an ambitious, ignorant, and presumptuous clergy, that no intestine disorders could abate their extravagance^d. The propositions of the marquis of Ormond were accepted by the parliament, and their treaty commenced. But before any signature of the treaty, and when Ormond, by the delay of those succours, promised in the interim, was still at liberty to retede, Leyburne, one of the queen's chaplains, arrived in Ireland under the fictitious name of Winter Grant. He was sent with expedients for advancing a peace, and directed to act entirely in concert with the marquis of Ormond. Here was a fair occasion offered to the Irish of correcting their errours, and treating, by this agent, on fair and moderate terms. They, indeed, offered their propositions by Grant, but they were the propositions dictated by the clergy, and already re-

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jected;

jected; and they were again rejected with disdain*.

NOTHING now remained for Ormond but to conclude his treaty with the parliament. His second son, lord Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, were sent to England as hostages for the performance of his stipulations. A considerable force marched out of Ulster to Dublin, and reinforcements sent from England were admitted into the city. On the nineteenth day of June, the articles were signed. Ormond engaged to deliver up Dublin, and all the king's garrisons, his ordinance, ammunition, and stores, together with the sword of state, and other ensigns of his government, on the twenty eighth of the succeeding month, or sooner, if required by parliament, on notice of four days. The commissioners on their part promised, that protestants should be protected; that all who chose to attend the marquis out of Ireland should have free liberty to depart; that popish recusants, who had not engaged in the rebellion, might rest securely in the favour of parliament, according to their future demeanour; that the marquis of Ormond should have liberty to reside in England, on condition of submitting to the ordinances of parliament. They acknowledged

* We are told, that even Owen O'Nial now began to apprehend the consequences of driving Ormond from the kingdom, and entered into some negotiations with him. Ormond proposed, that if he could procure a cessation for one year, he would break off his treaty with the parliament, but required an answer within fourteen days. O'Nial dispatched his nephew, Daniel O'Nial, to recommend this measure to the supreme council. The propriety of it he explained at large to his friend Mac Mahon, the popish bishop of Clogher, and earnestly exhorted him to support it. But the insatuated council, whether influenced by this prelate or no, effectually defeated the whole project, by imprisoning Daniel until the fourteen days limited by the marquis were expired. BORLASE.

knownedged that the sum expended by him in the king's service amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven pounds. They engaged to pay three thousand of this sum before his departure, and to secure the remainder by sufficient bills of exchange.

THE parliamentarians were now complete masters of Dublin, and scorned to delay the exercise of their authority until Ormond should depart. Scarcely had the treaty been signed, when the commissioners, without any ordinance of parliament, by their own absolute will and pleasure, forbade the use of the liturgy, (the only form of worship established by law) and obtruded the directory on all places of worship. The Irish catholics had already refused the least toleration of the established worship in any place subject to their power, and, in the extravagance of their expectations, had disputed whether the king should be allowed one chapel in the capital, when their dominion was to extend over the whole kingdom. With the same spirit of bigotry, these zealous reformers rejected the remonstrance of the clergy, and thundered their menaces against the heinous guilt of worshipping God in any form or manner but their own*. Although they were not careful to perform the stipulations of parliament, and, particularly, to enable the lieutenant to discharge his debts, by paying him the sum for which he stood immediately engaged, yet were they impatient for his departure. He had delayed the resignation of his authority

f Carte, vol. I. p. 605.

* Their prohibition was confined to the city, or at least not obeyed without the walls. For in the university, the bishop of Meath still continued to use the liturgy. And hither the protestants of the established church crowded with particular fervour to divine worship at this time of persecution.

thority until the twenty-eighth day of July, in hopes of obtaining permission to transport five thousand men for the service of France, which was much desired by that court, and would serve to dignify his exile. But this overture was rejected by parliament, although the troops were to be formed of their enemies. Their commissioners, on the sixteenth of this month, summoned him to remove from the castle, and deliver the regalia within four days. He could not oppose their demand; but as his present removal was inconvenient, he contented them with resigning the castle to the custody of their own guards; and the ceremonial of delivering his sword was by agreement deferred to the day mentioned in the treaty.

THE moderate and sensible of the confederates were now cast in the utmost consternation, convinced at last of their own errors, and the extravagances of their party. Owen O’Nial grew every day more terrible. He was, with difficulty, restrained by the nuncio from seizing Kilkenny; and the catholics of Munster expected every moment to be exposed to his depredations. Their new general, Glamorgan, discovered too great an inclination to concur with this leader of the papal army. Lord Muskerry, the rival of this earl, and the enemy of the nuncio and O’Nial, at the moment that his destruction was meditated, fled to the Munster army, was received as their leader, and Glamorgan deposed. But, notwithstanding this instance of successful vigour, it was still apprehended, that the turbulence of the nuncio must encrease, and that O’Nial would attempt some desperate purpose on the departure of the marquis of Ormond. Sir Robert Talbot, Darcy, Belling, some
of

of the most eminent of the confederates, and even Preston himself, was now convinced that their preservation depended on an union with Ormond^h. In a private conference with lord Digby, they earnestly entreated that the marquis should continue for some time longer in Ireland. But their application was too late; and their sincerity too justly suspected. Ormond could discover no good purpose to be answered by his farther residence in the kingdom, nor could he stoop to conceal himself in some retreat when he had resigned his public character. He left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, embarked on the day appointed, and landed at Bristol.

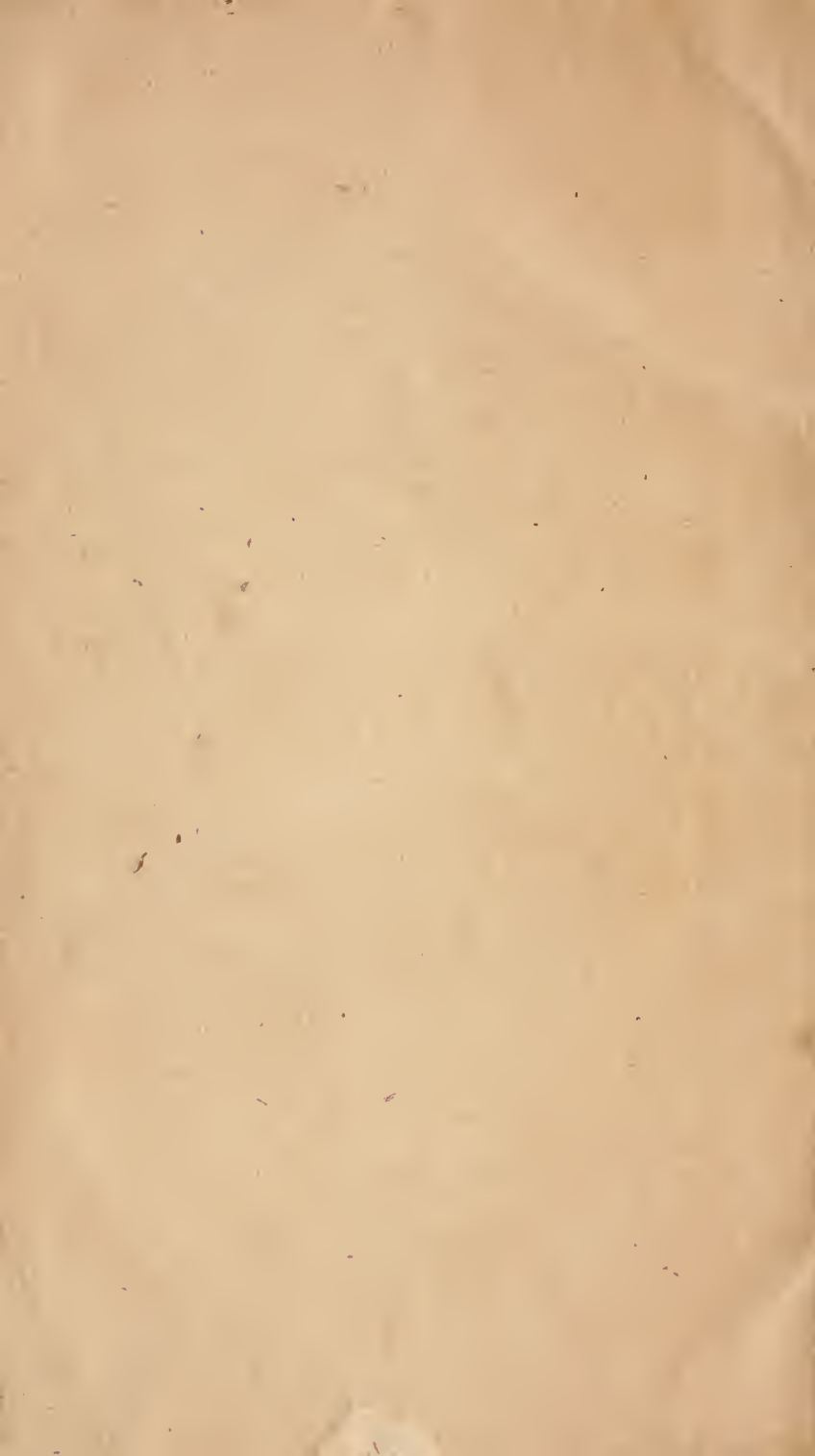
^h Vol. III. No. DLX.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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